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SOME PHASES OF RELIGIOUS FEELING IN LATER PAGANISM

CAMPBELL BONNER
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

e scientific study of religion which has gone on for the past years has reaped a rich and varied harvest; but a thought-observer might hold with good reason that its most im-tant result is this, that all investigators, whether themselves gious or not, have come to recognize candidly the tremen-s motive power of religious emotion and the actual validity eligious experience. Yet singularly enough comparatively e attention has been paid to ancient religious feeling for its sake. Classical scholars have made fruitful researches into objective phenomena of ancient religion, particularly Greek Roman cults; they have considered the relation of religion philosophy and morals; and after many aberrations they e even found firmer paths through the morass of mythology. we still await an adequate study of the subjective side of ient religion.[1]

The reasons for this neglect are not far to seek. The subjec-element in religion implies a personal element. Religious ing, however much it may be affected by the life of a com-nity, is after all the feeling of an individual. But the minds of investigators have been largely dominated by the idea of city state, with its impressive manifestations of communal ; and this trend of interest has probably been strengthened a well known theory, now somewhat blown upon, that re-

[1] Much that is useful will be found in W. Nestlé's Die griechische Religiösität in Grundzügen und Hauptvertretern von Homer bis Proklos (Sammlung Göschen: nde, Berlin, 1930–34); but Nestlé's approach is different from mine and I owe ng to his work, since this essay was completed before his third volume appeared. present paper is a revised form of a presidential address delivered before the Ameri-Philological Association; some paragraphs have been recast, and references have added.

ligion, like other creations of the human spirit, such as poet and art, is a product of group consciousness and group activit

Yet there must have been two sorts of people to whom r ligion was not merely a social activity: first, the abler minc whose vision carried beyond the range of ordinary people, a second, certain weaker vessels, wounded spirits, who soug from heaven a medicine for ills of the body or the soul. T religion of Aeschylus was something more than one man's sha in the religious consciousness of the Athenian people; and must have had frailer contemporaries who cherished a person religion as a way of escape not afforded by the easy-going wo ship of the state and the family altar.

With the leading spirits, of whatever period, we are not he concerned, chiefly because the very power of their intellec places their deliverances on religious subjects in the category philosophy or theology. This is not to say that their writin give us no glimpse of religious emotion. Those who rea Aeschylus, Plato, or Epictetus know that it is otherwise. Y if one is to study the phenomena of religious feeling broadl one must give heed to the emotions of weaker souls and th words of less eloquent lips. This does not derogate from th dignity of the theme; for every vital religion, like every vit form of popular art, must make provision for all levels of in telligence.

This is not the place in which to attempt an outline histor of ancient religious sentiment. Even in treating the late perio a few examples must suffice. Further, I must acknowledge i advance an objection to the title of this paper; for there is n clear dividing line between religious thought and religious fee ing. But the distinction is convenient and it need not be mi leading. Assuming it, then, as a matter of practical expediency let us consider some typical manifestations of religious emotion

[2] A. D. Nock has reminded me of the need for caution in using the word religio for which no single Greek vocable affords an equivalent (cf. Wilamowitz, Glaube d Hellenen, I, 15); and it is true that, as we commonly employ it, the word may com bine different Greek concepts, and superadd notions that are largely modern. Th difficulty cannot be entirely overcome. By religious feeling, as here discussed, I mea the emotional response to participation in worship, or to contemplation or experienc of the divine.

Several subjects, of great interest in themselves, must be set de for one reason or another. Fear, which in the judgment most theorists and many observers is the primitive religious ling, needs no discussion here; how its persistence provided e seeding-ground for superstition is well illustrated by the terial recently assembled by a Dutch scholar.[3] The happy pes of the initiates into the mysteries of Eleusis are well own. The sense of mystic union with deity, which we can tect in the Dionysiac religion of the classical period, and hich became a characteristic of various Hellenistic mystery ligions, has been fully treated by distinguished authorities. mewhat less attention, I think, has been given to the emo- n of love — love felt towards a god, or conceived to be felt a god towards his worshippers. With that is involved the terest that the gods take in the individual human being, the nfidence that man feels in the divine protection, and the mfort that he derives from the sense of heavenly guidance d governance. One is tempted to linger over the question w far such feelings as these are expressed by men of the clas- al age; but to do justice to it would require much sifting of ts of evidence, often minute, sometimes ambiguous. One ex- mple will serve to illustrate a search from which, in spite of its terest, we must abstain.

It seems to me that the idea of comforting reliance on a divine wer is implicit in the language of Aeschylus' famous address Zeus in the Agamemnon — 'Though I weigh all things in ie scale, I can guess none but Zeus, if I am truly to cast from y mind this vain burden of care.'[4] For the idea of divine ve, we may turn to the passage in which he calls the Athe- ians 'beloved of the Beloved Maiden.'[5] There I find a feeling

[3] P. J. Koets, *Δεισιδαιμονία*, Purmerend, 1929. See also H. Bolkestein, Theophrasts harakter der Deisidaimonia als religionsgeschichtliche Urkunde (Giessen, 1929: Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, XXI, 2).

[4] Agam. 163–6.

[5] Eum. 998–1000. — We must beware of making too much of the frolicsome humor Aristophanes; but when, in the Knights (1168) the Sausage-Seller promises old emos 'sops of bread scooped out by Athena with her ivory hand,' one may suspect at the poet is burlesquing the naïve complacency of simple folk who, in times of ease, agined themselves to be, as it were, spoon-fed by their tutelary deities. Compare

too genuine and heartfelt to be dismissed as mere patriotic cla trap, particularly when we hear the end of the sentence, 'As y nestle beneath the wings of Pallas, her Father holdeth you sa from harm.' [6] In its homely warmth the figure reminds us the words of Jesus brooding over Jerusalem: 'How often woul I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gatheret her chickens under her wings!' [7]

There were those who confidently held that the care of th gods for mortal men extended beyond the grave. The my teries affirmed this belief, though with a characteristically sec tarian limitation of divine solicitude to their own communion Socrates, it is true, seems to have preserved his philosophi agnosticism about the future life; but he was firmly convince that if there were life after death, the providence of the god would follow the good man; and even the worldly Hypereide seems to express a genuine feeling when he adapts the sam thought to the conclusion of his funeral oration.[9]

We may assume, then, that neither *θεοφιλής*, as said of mer nor *φιλάνθρωπος* as a quality of a god, is an idea foreign to Gree religious feeling even in classical times.[10] But as one passes t a later period it becomes clear that something has happened t intensify the feeling of individual dependence upon the gods

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1091, where in a dream the goddess seems to pour out wealth and health upon her cit from a pail, and the Syracusan ditty (Wendel, Schol. in Theocr., p. 3)

δέξαι τὰν ἀγαθὰν τύχαν,
δέξαι τὰν ὑγίειαν,
ἂν φέρομες παρὰ τᾶς θεοῦ.

[6] The translation 'the Father' (so Smyth) seems to me to be justified by the tone o the passage and as a natural development, in the more refined thought of Aeschylus, o the Homeric conception of Zeus, *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*; but I have refrained from tha rendering here, in order to avoid the possible objection that the interpretation woul thus be tinged with Christian associations.

[7] The same figure, derived of course from the language of the Gospel, is quaintly developed in the hymn *Nun ruhen alle Wälder* by the great seventeenth-century Ger man writer of sacred verse, Paul Gerhardt.

[8] Hom. Hymn to Demeter, 480; Soph. fr. 837 (Pearson); Ar. Frogs, 455.

[9] Plat. Apol., 41 c–d; Hyper. Epit., 43.

[10] The active sense of *θεοφιλής*, god-loving, is late; but Isocrates (4, 29) says *ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔσχεν.* *φιλόθεος* occurs in Arist. Rhet. 2, 17, 6.

bring about a clinging faith in the care of the gods as the ernative to a pessimism more gloomy and bitter than any- ing known in the classical age. On the one side stand Lucian d the graveyard mockers at the hope of immortality — we ow them from the Anthology and from many tomb-inscrip- ns still extant; on the other, if we except certain quiet- inded philosophers and a much larger number of the comfort- ly indifferent, there are devout and credulous believers like e witnesses to the miracles of Asklepios, including such people Aelius Aristides and his contemporary M. Julius Apella; [11] ough it should be added that believers of this sort were not l followers of the god of Epidaurus. I do not think that any- dy has proposed a better diagnosis of this change of attitude an is contained in that phrase of J. B. Bury's which Gilbert urray used in naming a section of his lectures on Greek re- gion — 'a failure of nerve' brought about largely by the ruin the old narrow and particularistic but independent life of e Greek city-states.

The search for support in this atony of the religious feelings llowed certain lines in a particular way. Some of these led to e mysteries and to those oriental religions strongly tinctured ith mysticism which ministered to the troubled and self- uestioning soul. To this tendency much attention has been ven, and there is no need to emphasize its importance. An- her line, which led to the great god of healing, Asklepios, has ot been so fully examined as it deserves, particularly with ference to its significance as a precursor of Christianity. It an be shown that in the cult of the Divine Healer there was eveloped to a high point a faith in a providence which did not isdain to concern itself with the intimate life of the individual - not only his bodily ailments but also his spiritual well- eing.[12] Even in the fifth century the god was believed to heal

[11] For Apella, see IG, IV, 955 (Dittenberger, Syll.[3] 1170), and Wilamowitz, Isyllos on Epidauros (Philol. Untersuch. IX, 116 ff.).

[12] There is apparently no eschatological aspect of Asklepios' care for humanity, nd it would be difficult to pick out a definite passage illustrating his solicitude for the elfare of the soul; but I believe that the statement in the text would be borne out by careful reading of such documents as Aristides' Sacred Discourses. The great growth the importance of Asklepios in the later ages of paganism was long ago noticed by

the sufferer with his own hand. Aristophanes' travesty in th Plutus indicates that, and somewhat later it is expressly state in Herodas' fourth mime, where we note also that the oil sacristan contrives to give the pious lady worshippers the im pression that Asklepios is so gracious as to take a personal in terest in them, their husbands, and their families.[13]

The Divine Healer of the body becomes also the physician o the soul. It was natural and indeed inevitable that a being lik Asklepios, who once walked among men and afterwards be came a god, and who sympathized with the sufferings of human ity, healed their diseases and allayed their anxieties, shoul extend his influence over the whole Graeco-Roman world in it age of depression; and it was equally inevitable that he shoul be progressively aggrandized by theological speculation unt he became a personal Savior with far-reaching attributes, an the object of the most devout adoration. The breakdown of th old city-state and the weakening of the zest that had onc marked the religion of the θεοὶ πολιοῦχοι made way, then, no only for the growth of the mystery-religions, but also for th extraordinary extension of the devotion to Asklepios which w find in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

For this reason, in studying religious feeling in the later ag of paganism, we may profit by giving particular attention t the religious experience of the famous orator Aelius Aristides Here we have a man who was the leading sophist of his da and the finest cultivator of the Attic style, a valued citizen o his adopted city of Smyrna, and able through his influence wit Marcus Aurelius to confer a substantial benefit upon it; for h

B. Stark (Versammlung der deutschen Philologen und Schulmänner, Frankfurt-am Main, 1861, p. 71 ff.). See also Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, pp. 275–8. Influence o the artistic type of Asklepios upon the traditional likeness of Christ was suggested by H. Holtzmann in Jahrbb. für prot. Theol., III (1877), p. 191 and X (1884), pp. 83–7 and E. von Dobschütz appears to be sympathetic to the idea, Christusbilder, p. 30 f (Texte und Unters. N. F. III, 1899). It is denied by V. Schultze, Archäologie de altchristlichen Kunst, 1895, p. 344, and by C. M. Kaufmann, Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie, 1922, p. 368.

[13] Ar. Plut. 721, 727 f.; Herodas 4, 17 f., 80–84. For the healing of the comic poet Theopompos by the hand of Asklepios, see Suidas s.v. Θεόπομπος and the first chapter of Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, VIII, 1).

ained imperial aid for the rebuilding of the city after the astrous earthquake of the year 178.[14] Yet the few who read now think of him chiefly as an outstanding example of the rasthenic with an absorbing religious complex. The esti- te is just; but it does not tell the whole story, and it does diminish the value of his testimony about the religious senti- nt of his age.[15]

In the course of an incredibly arduous and exhausting over- d journey to Rome in winter time,[16] the mere undertaking which gives proof of the man's normal courage and energy, istides was attacked by a severe illness, which had serious ysical consequences, but which was undoubtedly complicated nervous troubles, marked by such distressing symptoms as vulsive muscular spasms.[17] Like the woman in the Gospel rrative, he suffered many things of many physicians, and it ded by his taking Asklepios as his guide and healer. His cure d not come at once; in fact, it was seventeen years before he gained his health. But his faith in Asklepios, to whom he tributed every favorable fluctuation in his health, never wa- red; and it appears to have exercised a profound influence on his outlook on life, developing, or confirming, a pietistic titude which may have been latent from the beginning — for was the son of a priest. During the years of his illness he pt at the command of the god, as he tells us, a diary which ew to portentous volume; and out of this mass of notes he mpiled his ἱεροὶ λόγοι, narratives of his illness and his re- gious experience, from which I draw for the most part in dis- ssing this extraordinary temperament. It is a strange record, d as Plato says of the spectacle of the souls choosing their es, it arouses pity, laughter, and wonder, but it is worth eing.

[14] Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 9, 2.

[15] During the composition of this estimate of Aristides, I purposely refrained from nsulting the exhaustive monograph, Aelius Aristide by M. André Boulanger (Bib- thèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 126, 1923). It is a pleasure find that my views about the religion of Aristides agree so closely with those of the ench scholar.

[16] Or. 48, 60 ff.

[17] Or. 49, 17.

In these ἱεροὶ λόγοι we find Aristides settled for the greate part of the time at the Asklepieion in Pergamon, sometime moving about to some other holy place of healing, sometime going on an errand of purification or satisfying some othe scruple of conscience, but always at the beck and call of th god. Asklepios revealed his will and prescribed for his patien chiefly, if not entirely, in dreams, of which Aristides records no a few; and it is clear that he paid the closest attention to ever hint, no matter how obscure it might be, or how veiled in sym bols, meticulously following the slightest intimation of th divine will. He believed that Asklepios directed the least de tails of his treatment — his diet, his clothing, his baths, hi exercise, his blood-letting and his taking of emetics and purges He dreams of seeing a great ditch dug and quantities of refus carried away. A hint suffices for the pious; the next day he takes an emetic.[18] He has a dream about Athena. He ponders the matter and decides that a clyster of Attic honey is indi-cated.[19] In following the god he not only runs counter to the advice of the doctors — in those days that was often the part of wisdom — but also terrifies his friends by the rigor of his regimen; for this fever-stricken invalid, following his dream-prescriptions, bathes in the open air and runs barefoot on morn-ings of hard frost, rides horseback when the slightest move-ment had been a torture, runs and plunges into an icy river, and, incidentally, gloats over the astonishment of a large crowd which had gathered to see him paralyzed by the shock. Evi-dently Aristides had the iron constitution of the chronic in-valid. His cold plunge had the effect, natural enough in one able to react from it at all, of producing a glow, which he as-sures us was not only a sunny, life-giving warmth to the body, but also gave him an ineffable feeling of inward well-being closely akin to mystical ecstasy, making everything appear insignificant in comparison to that blessed moment, so that he scarcely saw the objects his eyes rested upon, so utterly was he given up to the god.[20]

[18] Or. 47, 46 and 50.

[19] Or. 48, 42 f.

[20] Or. 47, 65; 48, 74–79 and 19–23.

There is reason to suspect that the priests helped to humbug
m — though he stood in no need of their help — for the
eater glory of their god and the material profit of their tem-
es. Thus we learn that he was told by a dream (which does
t exclude the possibility of trickery) that he must die within
ree days, but a composition was possible, and it proved to be
fficiently elaborate. To avert the impending evil he had to
ake some peculiar sacrifices into pits dug beside the river,
tside of the city, then cross the river and scatter small coins,
d do some other things not specified. Then he must go to
e temple of Asklepios and offer sacrifice in regular form, set
'sacred bowls' of wine and distribute 'sacred portions' to
s fellow-patients. Finally some part of his body must be
ven up as a substitute for his life. That looked bad; but the
sourceful god graciously allowed him to dedicate his ring in-
ead of cutting off a finger — δακτύλιος instead of δάκτυλος.[21]

Aristides' conviction of Asklepios' concern about all details
his health is a clear indication of the self-centered attitude
aracteristic of many invalids; but that is still more clearly
ought out in certain other passages of his record. Thus we
d him comparing symptoms with his cronies in invalidism
d quite convinced that nobody's troubles were ever as bad
his own.[22] His very dreams betray his vanity, as when he
lls us of one in which the emperors Marcus Aurelius and
ucius Verus seemed to pay him marked attention, to which
responded with studied dignity and grace.[23] But his egoism
tains sublimity on two other occasions. Two poor young
eople of his household, a lad and a girl, children of Aristides'
ster-sister, died during his protracted illness. He was fond
them, as in general he seems to have been capable both of
spiring and of feeling strong affection; but on the occasion of
ch death he records his belief that the life of the slave had
en given as a substitute for the master's. We can almost see
e pious upturn of his eyes.[24]

It is partly because of this vanity and partly because of a
aïve faith more deserving of respect that we find Aristides

[21] Or. 48, 26–28.
[22] Or. 42, 6–7; 50, 16.
[23] Or. 47, 46–49.
[24] Or. 48, 44; 51, 24.

recording instance after instance of special providences to which he owes guidance or salvation from danger, or of special supernatural manifestations which assure him of the divine care and favor. Thus at one time a heaven-sent intuition saves him from embarking upon a ship which, as it turned out, would have had a dangerous voyage.[25] On another occasion he had landed safely after a violent storm on the voyage from Klazomenai to Phokaia, but subsequently learned from the god that it was his destiny to be shipwrecked after all; however, the kindly Asklepios told him further that he might at once evade and fulfill the decree of fate by rowing out into the harbor, overturning his skiff, and swimming ashore, which amazing instructions Aristides scrupulously followed.[26] Again, when he is making a journey to Pergamon in midwinter, there is a snow-storm at the right of his road and rain at the left, but straight above him a zone of clear sky making a path of brightness leading straight to the holy place.[27] He is told in dreams at what hours to deliver his orations, and before one such effort the god warns him to eat before he speaks. A dream bids him write a lyric in honor of Apollo. He coyly confesses himself unpractised in poetry, but nevertheless he composes a strophe, antistrophe and epode, sad stuff to judge by the first line, which he quotes. This happened in Rome; and by an interesting coincidence the next day turned out to be the festival of the *ludi Apollinares*.[28]

Still others of Aristides' special mercies are too amusingly absurd to pass over in silence. Asklepios once prescribed an egg for his patient. None was to be found in the market. Aristides' servants finally came upon a dealer who had one egg left, which he refused to sell, saying that Asklepios had bidden him keep it for a sick man who needed it. When the situation was explained, the dealer piously did homage to the god and handed over the egg gratis. Similarly, Isis once demanded a sacrifice of two geese. Only two could be found, and at first the owner would not dispose of them, telling the messenger, who was supposedly unknown to him, that the goddess had commanded

[25] Or. 50, 33–36.
[26] Or. 48, 11–14.
[27] Or. 51, 26–27.
[28] Or. 51, 31 and 38; 50, 31.

...h to keep them for Aristides.[29] On still another occasion ... sacred geese of Isis play a part in a story so ludicrous that ... may be excused for giving it in full. Aristides has been ...aking of signs and wonders proceeding from Sarapis, and ...ntinues thus:

> ...f I must tell a still more awful portent, I had offered sacrifice to Isis and ...apis in the temple of the goddess — the thing happened in Smyrna. As I ... going out through the propylaia two of the sacred geese rushed up to me, ..., walking along before me, led the way so exactly in the direction I in...ded to take that the meaning of their behavior was clear to me. When I ...ceived it, I said to the friends who were accompanying me, 'Look, these ...atures are taking their part in the friendly escort.' I went on talking of ... cleverness of the goddess (he uses the odd word γοργότης) and the great...s of her power in such matters as ominous sounds and meetings, and re...cked that my prayers had often been answered in times past, 'and now' ...I, 'she has sent us these geese as guides.' Such was our talk, and at the ...ne time we were watching to see what the geese would do. Well, we were ...ng along at some distance from the temple, I don't know just how far, ...en I pointed to the geese and said jestingly, 'You have rendered service ...ugh now, go your way.' No sooner had I spoken than they turned about ...l departed.[30]

On the showing of these wonder-stories any normal reader in...nes to dismiss Aristides as a maundering, brainsick noodle. ...t the matter is really not quite so simple. He was indeed ...edulous to the point of silliness; but if we examine the ἱεροὶ ...γοι and his other religious writings from another point of ...ew we find evidence of a religious sentiment both genuine ...d refined. To him — and I am following his words closely — ...sklepios is the mildest, kindest, most loving of gods. He is a ...fuge from all troubles; he is ever accessible to the call of ...ffering humanity, whatever the occasion of need. Though ...s powers are infinite, Asklepios chooses for his particular ...nction that of doing good to men, ministering to each accord...g to his wants. Likewise his sons, the Asklepiadai, instead of ...lding aloof from the world like Menelaos in the Blessed Isles, ... Rhadamanthys in the Elysian Fields, walk abroad among ...en and are their guardians and helpers; they have even been ...en by many favored worshippers.[31]

[29] Or. 49, 44–45.

[30] Or. 49, 49–50.

[31] Or. 39, 5; 47, 17; 48, 4; 42, 4; 38, 20–21.

I have already touched upon one passage in which Aristide devotion reaches a mystic concentration and exaltation. does not stand alone. Elsewhere he tells us of a vision of th god in which he felt such a tremor of excitement, such a ferv of the spirit, as could only be understood by those who hav been initiated into the mysteries. Again he goes on a lon journey by night, over a road so bad that he and his retinu must proceed by torchlight. As he rides along in his carriag perhaps half-hypnotized by the flickering lights, he feels him self to be possessed by the god and as it were consecrated; s he pours out the mounting flood of his fervor in hymns to hi savior Asklepios and to the other deities whom he believes t be the guardians of his mission.[32]

It is characteristic of the theology of Aristides' age that thos divinities who are worshipped with marked devotion are cred ited not merely with special provinces of activity, but also wit universal attributes and powers. The Praises of Isis, which ar known to us from both inscriptions and papyri, give ampl proof of this tendency so to broaden the powers of a favorite object of worship that the deity absorbs the characteristics o others; and the result is that theocrasy which is especiall marked in Graeco-Egyptian religion. Whether Aristides ac quired this theological outlook in Egypt, where his experiences made a great impression upon him, or whether it was in the air at that time, is a question of no immediate importance. But he approves of the identification of Asklepios with Zeus, and calls him 'the soul of the universe'; and says of the god, whom he loves to call Σωτήρ, 'this is he who guides and governs the universe, savior of all things, guardian of the immortals, "the watcher of the helm," bringing salvation to all that is and is to be.' [33]

Although Asklepios is the object of his special adoration, he finds no difficulty or inconsistency in speaking in like terms of

[32] Or. 48, 31–32; 50, 3–4.

[33] Or. 42, 4. It is not certain whether the gold amulet (an eight-sided cylinder) in the British Museum (No. 3156) with the inscription εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις ἐπιφανὴς Ἀσκλήπιος σωτήρ represents a combination of two acclamations in honor of different divinities, Sarapis and Asklepios, or a fusion of the two with Zeus. See F. H. Marshall, Catalogue of the Jewellery in the British Museum, p. 381, and Erik Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, p. 237.

other deity. Of Sarapis he says that he is adored alike by gs and men of low estate, by wise and simple, by great and ull, by good men and sinners. To the fortunate he gives the tinued enjoyment of their happiness, to the wretched he is recompense for all their sorrows. Sarapis is compassionate. ough awful, he is most loving. Men never go beyond his ver; their salvation here and hereafter is in his providence. is lord of death as well as of life; hence he who leaves this ld goes from Sarapis to Sarapis, from home to home — thus stides makes a new and curiously modern application of the nfortable old phrase of Pindar.[34]

If I have lingered long over this sketch of Aristides, it has med justifiable for two reasons. First, he is an excellent mple of a mind full of vanities and absurdities, yet capable deep religious devotion. Secondly, Aristides is a pagan who nd salvation of body and soul, and took his comfort there- er in his faith in a personal savior. Let us now turn for a ch briefer scrutiny to a document which illustrates another ect of religious feeling — the sense of personal intercourse h a power above humanity — an intercourse which in this e is not marked by mystic ecstasy nor by that feeling of on with the deity which characterizes some of the mystery gions, but which is a simple and happy communion, a loving mpanionship. The text in question is the Heroikos of Phi- tratos.[35] At first glance the work seems to offer rather poor terial. A considerable part of it is taken up with a languid d rather dreary flogging of Homer, with whom Philostratos oses to quarrel because of the poet's partiality for Odysseus d the Atreidae, and particularly because he slights the un- tly persecuted Palamedes. There is also some stopping of os in Homer's account of the various chieftains, much com- nt on their personal appearance, and a few bits of useful in- rmation about heroic cults and myths. It is only the frame- rk of the story that interests us, and that only for a special ason.

[4] Or. 45, 18, 24–26, 32; cf. Pindar, Ol. 6, 99.

[5] The work has been made the subject of a valuable study by Professor S. Eitrem, ilostrats Heroikos (Symbol. Oslo., VIII, 1–56).

The Heroikos is a dialogue between a Phoenician shipmaste who has been becalmed on the coast of the Thracian Chers nese, and a rustic recluse, a vine-dresser who has taken up h abode hard by the heroön of Protesilaos, and who has bee specially favored and blessed by the hero himself. From Pr tesilaos the vine-dresser has heard again and again the tale the hero's part in the expedition against Troy, and from hi he has learned the story of the war and the deeds and chara ters of the chiefs, thus gaining a point of view quite differer from Homer's. The vine-dresser himself, according to his na rative, formerly lived in a city and dabbled in philosophy, lea ing his estate to the care of slaves, with the natural result tha he fell into debt and lost his property. Turning to Protesila for aid, he was told curtly to change his coat. This he inte preted as a command to leave the city and his studies and d vote himself to the simple life of rural labor. Since that chan he had lived under the guardianship of Protesilaos, who pr tected him against oppression, kept all pests away from h vineyard, and prospered him greatly, so that he was able t extend a simple and kindly hospitality to such casual guests a the Phoenician merchant. Most important of all, it appear that he enjoys the company of the hero himself. Protesila comes to run and sport in the vineyard paths, and haunts th loveliest spot in the little domain. The vine-dresser sees hi often, knows every feature of his face, every line of the heroi body, glorious in its eternal youth. Some quaint touches o popular tradition come out in the description of the hero's ap pearance and physical characteristics — he is more than twic the ordinary height of human kind, and a divine odor exhale from his person. In temper Protesilaos is gracious and affable; at times he even helps the vine-dresser in his labors, and ac cepts his adoration even to the point of permitting the kisses and embraces of his worshipper.[36]

Now there is something strange and a little puzzling in all this. It does not ring true. Philostratos was a worldling and a courtier, a protégé of the empress Julia Domna, at whose com-

[36] Heroikos, pp. 131–3, 142–5; the references are to the pages of Kayser's Teubner text.

nd he compiled the life of Apollonios of Tyana.[37] That work, withstanding its peculiar interest for the student of the history of religion, is written with no spiritual warmth, and I find the Heroikos none of that sincerity that marks the religious perience of Aristides and, as I think, of Apuleius also. It has en suggested that the Heroikos may owe its origin chiefly to emperor Caracalla's fleeting interest in hero-cult.[38] Hero-rship seems to have become popular at this period among great, just as it had always been popular among the lowly, ssibly as a protest against philosophic theology and as an empt to return to a simpler religion. According to Philo-atos, Hadrian had concerned himself with the recovery of the ics of Aias, and had adored them when found.[39] The cult of meric heroes in various places is well attested even at a late riod.[40] I think we may safely infer that however slightly ilostratos may have been touched by this movement, he st have known devotees of the heroes whose simple and olehearted faith made a deep impression upon him. He re-rds a saying of Apollonios that the gods are to be worshipped masters (δεσπόται), the heroes as fathers.[41] Clearly these ings, occupying a middle ground between men and the great ympians, seemed to many believers to be the natural patrons mankind and their mediators and advocates with the supreme wers. It is a belief which is of importance in the history of ristianity, for it contributed its part, probably a very con-lerable one, to the cult of saints. Certain it is that when we ake allowance for its transmission to us through an unsym-thetic medium, there is something in the naïve, sweet-souled, yllic devotion of the rustic hermit that is not easy to parallel til we come to the legends of St. Francis. With feelings not olly unlike those of the Greek vine-dresser, an Umbrian

[37] Without claiming the right to a voice in so vexed a question, I follow Schmid in owing the Heroikos as well as the Life of Apollonios to be the work of the second ilostratos.

[38] K. Münscher, Die Philostrate (Philologus, Suppl. Band X, 506–8).

[39] Heroikos, p. 137 K.

[40] Cf. Eitrem, op. cit., p. 3, and Dittenberger, Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel. 522 (Sarpedon and aucus); full treatment in Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, chapter xi.

[41] Vit. Apoll. 4, 31 (p. 150 K.).

peasant toiling among his vine-stocks might have been blessed with a vision of the Poveretto.

The last of these sketches of religious temperaments has to do with a strangely complex character, Apuleius of Madaura. Learned, artistic, master of an intricate, highly artificial style, sensuous, often shamelessly indecent, he is for all that a figure of great importance to a student of religion. Such a combination of qualities is not unknown in modern times; the comparison of Apuleius to Huysmans has doubtless occurred to many critics. The part of his work that is of interest for our purposes is of course the famous eleventh book of his romance, the Metamorphoses, a text which would even now repay further study and detailed elucidation by a competent authority on ancient religion.

After a particularly degrading episode of his life in the form of an ass, Lucius escapes, still in his bestial form, and runs away to the sea-shore at Kenchreai near Corinth, where he falls asleep in a hidden nook close by the waterside. Waking in sudden terror, he sees the full orb of the moon just rising from the waves. Moved by the majestic aspect of the rising luminary, to him a manifestation of the supreme goddess Isis, who combines in herself the attributes of Ceres, Diana, and many more, and strengthened by a faith that all human affairs are governed by her providence, he is filled with a new hope for deliverance from disgrace and suffering. He calls upon the Queen of Heaven by whatever name pleases her, praying for peace and protection from the blows of fortune.[42]

Sleep overcomes him again, and in a vision he sees the goddess herself in her true form arising from the waves and coming to stand before him glorious in her queenly beauty, clad in Egyptian garments and adorned with all the attributes bestowed upon her by the imagination of Egyptian artists. She declares herself to him, naming her names and powers in the manner of the hieratic hymns; she promises him deliverance, but adjures him to remember and lay it to his heart forever that the remainder of his life, to the very end, is given in pledge to her. 'Thou shalt live happily, thou shalt live gloriously under my

[42] Met. 11, 2.

rdianship, and when thou hast measured the full span of life and gone down to the lower world, there also . . . thou t still adore me and find me gracious.' [43]

he world is changed for Lucius by this vision of the night, his joy is reflected in the whole face of nature — one of the racteristic marks of the convert's new-found beatitude, as liam James noted long ago.[44]

ll things seemed that day to be joyful, as well all manner of beasts and very houses, as also even the day itself seemed to rejoice. For after the frost of the night ensued the hot and temperate sun, whereby the little s, weening that the springtime had been come, did chirp and sing melodi- y, making sweet welcome with their pleasant song to the mother of the , the parent of times, and mistress of all the world. The fruitful trees both those which rejoiced in their fertility and those which, being bar- and sterile, were contented at the shadow which they could give, being ened by the breathing of the south wind, and smiling by reason of their buds now appearing, did gently move their branches and render sweet sant shrills; the seas were quiet from the roaring winds and the tempests eat waves; the heaven had chased away the clouds, and appeared fair and with his proper light.[45]

he rest of the story of his deliverance need not be rehearsed. er the ass has eaten of the roses which a priest holds before , Lucius is a man again. The words with which the priest ets and congratulates the fortunate suppliant of Isis are thy of note:

hou hast drained to the dregs the cup of many and various sufferings and beaten by the mighty storms and mightiest gales of Fortune; and now st, Lucius, thou art come to the Haven of Rest and the Altar of Mercy. birth availed thee naught, nor thy rank, nor the learning in which thou llest; but in the lust of thy green youth thou hast stooped to the base sures of a cursed curiosity, and hast reaped the harvest of sin. Howbeit blindness of Fortune, after torturing thee with sorest trials, hath with un- ing malice brought thee to this spiritual blessedness. . . . But that u mayest be safer and more truly armed, pledge thy name to this holy fare, to which thou hast but lately been bound by oath of loyalty; devote self to the service of our religion, and take upon thee gladly the yoke of

[43] Met. 11, 5–6. With 11, 5 one may compare Diod. Sic., 1, 27, P. Oxy. 1380, and various inscriptions containing hymns or aretalogies of Isis, which are most con- ently brought together in W. Peek's Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte te (Berlin, 1930). Cf. also A. D. Nock, Conversion, p. 192.

[44] The Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 248 f.

[45] Met. 11, 7, Gaselee's adaptation of Adlington's version.

ministry. For when thou hast begun to serve the goddess, thou wilt mo richly enjoy the fruit of freedom.[46]

Haven of Rest — Altar of Mercy — youthful sin put away - arming for a holy war — God's service true freedom — ho familiar is the sound of those watchwords! Change but a fe expressions and we seem to hear the voice of a Christian pri receiving a sin-battered penitent into the fold of Moth Church.

Lucius entered the gate thus flung open to him. He tells u of his probation, and, more guardedly, of his initiation. He born again of the providence of the goddess. He goes to th boundary of death, treads the threshold of Proserpine, soa through all the elements and returns. He sees the sun glitte ing in white radiance at midnight, he approaches and adores th deities of heaven and hell. Then, at rest in spirit, he enters th priesthood and bows his tonsured head in the glad service Isis.[47]

We need not press too closely the question how far Lucius Apuleius. A great artist has written a great story; it is absu to look for biography in it. Even if we strip away the eleme of fantasy and the supernatural, and make ample allowance the borrowings from world-old folklore and from other mancers, there remains a tale of adventure and debauchery t wild to credit to the scholarly rhetorician of Madaura. Yet seems probable that the religious experience of the eleven book is in essentials his own, and there is an important link b tween that and the earlier part of the work, a connection di ferent from and more subtle than the mere necessary dénoue ment, the restoration of Lucius to human form. In later Egyptian religion the ass is the symbol of Set or Typhon, the enemy of Osiris and the embodiment of all that is most hateful to Isis. This fact elevates to sublimity the compassion of Isis in succoring the foully transformed Lucius, and it also suggests that Apuleius had gone through a period of sensual storm and stress of which the ass is the symbol. If he magnified his faults,

[46] Met. 11, 15.

[47] Met. 11, 21 (p. 283, 11 f., Helm, for the notion of the new birth); 11, 23, 28, 30.

did only what many other men of genius and refinement e done as they looked back over the sullied pages of their th. I incline to think that Apuleius was genuine both in suality and in piety. For the purposes of this survey it is ugh that he understood the emotions of the convert as they ld be understood only by a devotee or by an artist of the nest imaginative genius, or by a man who was both in one. tainly we have the right to place this picture of salvation n the world and the flesh side by side in our gallery of re- on with the sickly but tenaciously devout Aristides and the tle vine-dresser of the Chersonese.

There are other places where one would like to linger and dy the manifestations of religous emotion in this later age, the limits of this paper forbid loitering along by-paths, icing as they may look. Not every promising walk would found to reward the search according to our hopes. The in- ptions, for example, offer less than we might expect, chiefly ause, as Dean Inge puts it, 'inscriptions on tombstones . are not trustworthy evidence either for the character of deceased or for the real beliefs of his surviving relations.' [48] e might expect to learn something from what Augustine tells of his own feelings before he entered the church. But it is e remembered that Augustine was never really a pagan, but ner a sheep belonging to the Christian flock, yet reluctant to er the fold. Furthermore, the motives of his quest impress as intellectual rather than emotional. It may be that a chologist would say that in the days and years of wandering gustine's emotions were completely discharged in the pleas- s of love, which held him captive until the final struggle ke his chains. Certainly little purely religious emotion has nd its way into the record of his confessions up to the time ais conversion; while immediately after it, not to mention agonized crisis, we find the soaring mystic rapture which ght him up as he stood with his mother Monica at the win- v in Ostia — one of the most profoundly impressive passages all religious literature.[49] One would like to examine Dio of

[48] W. R. Inge, The Philosophy of Plotinus, I, pp. 51–2.

[49] Conf. 9, 10.

Prusa's Olympic oration (12), particularly the remarkable pa
sage about Phidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia, the contempl
tion of which, as it seems to Dio, could lift the burden of ca
even from a man tortured by sorrows and a stranger to the r
freshment of untroubled sleep.[50] Some attention might well
given to Libanius' oration On the Temples, showing how th
man, worldling as he was, clung with a fierce affection to t
ancient shrines, hallowed from time immemorial, feeling the
to be the last refuge of the simple joys and festivities of t
rural communities, now fast falling under the devastating dor
ination of the men in black, as he calls the Christians. Som
thing could be learned from some of the documents of Gnost
cism, particularly the hymns; for their exalted tone cause
them to be borrowed even by the Christians, and they were
popular that a bit of one has been found inscribed on a chea
amulet.[51] Their depth of feeling and impressive language a
not lost even when we find them embedded in magical book
prostituted to serve the base purposes of the charlatan masters
the black art and their scoundrelly clients. In passing I ma
point out a curious resemblance. In Libellus 13 of the Corp
Hermeticum we find the words, ὃ ζητῶ, βουλῇ τῇ σῇ ἀναπέπαυμ
— 'by thy counsel have I found rest, the object of my search
Who does not at once think of Augustine's unforgettabl
words, *inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te*?

The parallel just cited leads naturally to the point that
would chiefly emphasize, namely that there is nothing in kin
to set the emotions of the religious pagan apart from those
the Christian. There may be great differences in the menta
powers or moral characters of the representatives of the oppos
ing faiths, and the feelings that move them may be of widel
different intensity; but in quality they are the same, for the
represent the same needs of the spirit and direct themselve
toward similar objects. All the emotions which our own his
tory leads us to associate with the Christian's attitude toward
God and towards Christ as his Savior may be found in the feel
ings which men and women of the older religion entertaine

[50] Or. 12, 51; cf. also the noteworthy passage on man's love of the gods, 12, 61.
[51] See the author's note in Harv. Theol. Rev., XXV (1932), 362 f.

ards Asklepios, Sarapis, Isis, or a hero — love, trust, con-nce in the protection of a providence, faith in the divinity's e for the individual, the sense of loving communion. It is rth while to keep this in mind when we consider the vexed stion of the cause and the manner of the final victory of ristianity. It may serve a useful purpose in enabling us to aside from that argument any discussion of the relative ue of the religious emotions associated with the conflicting hs, and thus make it easier to accept the conclusion already ched by sound historians — namely that the victory of the ristian church was an intellectual one and that it was also noral one. The latter contention is easily maintained even er due weight is allowed for Christian bigotry and insensi-eness to beauty, and for such domestic cruelties as must have n entailed by the Encratite tendency in the early church. for the former, the intellectual superiority of the Christian th could not be successfully contested after Neo-Platonism d accepted and incorporated into its system the inevitably asing practices of theurgy and magic.

There was, to be sure, no ground for complacency on the part the victors; for the battle on the intellectual level has been stantly renewed, and it is not likely ever to be ended, for ristianity will always have to face the question whether it maintain itself in the world of thought. But it deserved the tory it had won. One of the best authorities on the closing ch of paganism, Johannes Geffcken, sounds a wise warning ainst sentimental hankering after the departed glories of cient religion, such as we find, expressed from an Egyptian int of view, in the pseudo-Apuleian Hermetic writing, Ascle-is, and in many utterances of modern poets and prose writ-s.[52] The old Hellenic and Roman religions had long since cayed, and been partly transformed, partly superseded. The t battles were not merely against the worship of the great ympians, but also against Isis, Sarapis, Mithra, Asklepios,

[52] J. Geffcken, Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums (1929), pp. 2, . — For an interesting discussion of the aging of the gods, as shown by the resentations of them in art, see E. Pottier, La vieillesse des dieux grecs, Mélanges ez, 729–743 (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales, II, ıxelles, 1934).

against stubborn village cults of godlings and heroes, again astrology and black magic. This we classicists are prone to fo get, just as we forget that even the old religion of the city-sta was not a faith to stand in an adult world. Some one has sai not without reason, that the Greek religion was the most chil ish that a brilliant people ever developed. But even so, whe as we usually do, we avert our eyes from a barbarous and in moral mythology and from a sanguinary and disgusting ritu of sacrifice, and fix them upon the majestic figures of Zeus an Athena as they appeared to a Pindar, an Aeschylus, a Soph cles, or even a Dio, there seems, for all our reasoning, to hav been revealed in that Hellenic religion a beauty so soul-stirrin that even the soberest of historians may pardon a sigh of regre at its passing. Something bright and joyous was gone and th world seemed darker:

Maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.

Attention should have been called to the resemblance between Apulei *portus quietis* and σωτηρίας λιμήν (or λιμένες) in Corp. Herm. VII, 1–2. T relation of the latter passage to the Jewish allegorical interpretation of t story of the Deluge is discussed by Professor C. H. Dodd, The Bible an the Greeks, pp. 188–191.

HE SUBSCRIPTION IN THE CHESTER BEATTY MANUSCRIPT OF THE HARCLEAN GOSPELS

WILLIAM H. P. HATCH
Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts

IE manuscripts of the Harclean Gospels contain a sub-ption which gives certain important information concerning origin of the Philoxenian and Harclean versions of the New tament. According to the subscription the Syriac transla- of the Four Gospels was made from the Greek text in the of Mabûg [1] in the year 507–508 after Christ. This was in time of Mar Philoxenus the Confessor, who was bishop of bûg from 485 to 519 A.D. Later the translation was carefully pared with two (or three) approved and accurate Greek ices and revised accordingly. This was done in 615–616 A.D. Thomas of Ḥarqel (or Heracleia) in a convent situated at the ton near Alexandria. The subscription was written by omas himself.[2]

ccording to an anonymous Syriac writer of unknown date omas came 'from Ḥarqel in the country of Palestine.' [3] So as is known, however, there was no town named Ḥarqel or acleia in Palestine. The passage in question is short, but the ter was certainly very ill-informed in regard to several mat-s having to do with Syria and Thomas of Ḥarqel. First, he ntifies Germanicia in Commagene with Mabûg in Cyrrhes-; secondly, he says that the Harclean translation was made nty-one years after the Philoxenian; and thirdly, he declares t Thomas died in Samosata. The last mentioned error prob-

Bambyce, or Hierapolis (as it was called by the Greeks on account of its being a minent seat of the worship of Atargatis), was an important city in the southeastern of Cyrrhestice. It was called Mabûg in Syriac, and it is known as Membij in bic. See Strabo, Geog. 16, 1, 27; 16, 2, 7; Pliny, N. H. 5, 23; and Ptolemy, Geog. 5, 10. According to the latter the latitude of Hierapolis was 36° 15′ N. and its longi-71° 15′ E.

This is confirmed by the statement found in lines 20–25 of the subscription. Al-ugh these words are omitted in some manuscripts, they do not seem to be an interpo-on.

See J. S. Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis (Rome, 1719–1728), II, pp. 90 f. This f notice is preserved in Cod. Vat. Sir. 16.

ably resulted from confusing the author of the Harclean vers with Thomas of Germanicia, who is known to have died Samosata nearly a century earlier. In view of these manif mistakes and the fact that a town called Ḥarqel is otherw unattested for Palestine, the anonymous writer's stateme concerning the location of the Ḥarqel with which Thomas associated can safely be rejected as erroneous.

On the other hand there were two important towns in Sy known as Heracleia, Ḥarqel being the Syriac form of this nan One of them was situated on the Mediterranean coast abo twelve kilometers northwest of Laodicea. It was betwe Laodicea and Poseidion.[4] No one has identified this town wi the Ḥarqel which was the birthplace or residence of Thoma nor does there seem to be any reason for doing so.

The other Heracleia lay somewhere between Antioch and t Euphrates, but apparently no trace of it has survived. Speaki of the region to the east of Antioch, Strabo mentions the E phrates, Bambyce (or Mabûg), Beroea (or Aleppo), and Her cleia in this order; and then he adds that the last named tow was distant twenty stadia from the temple of Athena Cy rhestis, which was doubtless a well known place of worshi Ptolemy includes Heracleia in his list of the cities and towns Cyrrhestice. According to the latitude and longitude given h him it must have been a short distance northwest of Hierapol (or Mabûg) and not far northeast of Beroea.[6] Evagrius speak

[4] See Strabo, Geog. 16, 2, 8 and 9; Pliny, N. H. 5, 20; and Ptolemy, Geog. 5, 14, The latter gives its latitude as 35° 10′ N. and its longitude as 68° 30′ E.

[5] See Strabo, Geog. 16, 2, 7. Hoffmann thinks that Athena Cyrrhestis was t Syrian goddess Atargatis, who was worshipped at Mabûg; and that the Heracleia whic is said by Strabo to have been east of Antioch was a village in the vicinity of Mabû Cf. G. Hoffmann in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XXXI p. 740. However, the identification of Athena Cyrrhestis with Atargatis, on whic Hoffmann's argument for the location of Heracleia depends, cannot be accepted. It arbitrary, and no evidence is cited in its support. Athena Cyrrhestis was in all proba bility the Greek goddess of that name, and her worship was probably established soo after the Greek conquest of Syria. Her temple may have been built by Antigonus o Seleucus I. Cf. Honigmann in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alter tumswissenschaft (Neue Bearbeitung, Stuttgart, 1894 and later), XXIII, col. 192.

[6] See Ptolemy, Geog. 5, 14, 10 and 12. The latitude and longitude are given as fol lows: Heracleia, lat. 36° 30′ N., long. 71° E.; Hierapolis, lat. 36° 15′ N., long. 71° 15′ E. Beroea, lat. 36° N., long. 70° 30′ E.; Antioch, lat. 35° 30′ N., long. 69° E. In Tafel II

ou town which was formerly known as Heracleia, but which d afterwards called Gaggalice (or Gagalice).[7] This has usu- been supposed to be the Heracleia which was located a little the northwest of Hierapolis; but, as we shall see presently, ggalice was probably another name for a small fortified place Mesopotamia.

Thomas of Ḥarqel, who revised the Philoxenian version of the w Testament, was probably born at Heracleia in Cyrrhestice. his youth he pursued Greek studies at Qenneshrê (i.e. the ient Chalcis and the modern Qinnesrîn), which was about rty-five kilometers southwest of Beroea; and subsequently was a monk at the Convent of Tar'il near Beroea. In the rse of time he became bishop of Mabûg. Being expelled from see by Domitian of Melitene before 602 A.D., he went to the aton near Alexandria and there made his revision of the New stament in the year 615–616. Of his later life and of the place d date of his death nothing is known.[8]

In addition to these two important Syrian towns called Hera- ia there were also two small and comparatively unimportant ces which bore the name. One was in the region of Mount urus and was known as Heracleia ad Taurum, which became raqlah in Arabic and Eregli in Turkish.[9] The other, which

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he end of B. Moritz's Anhang 'Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene' (in Ab- dlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1889) the longi- e of Hierapolis is given as 71° E. This is apparently a mere mistake. If however E. rather than 71° 15′ E. is correct, Heracleia must have been about 17.25 miles due th of Hierapolis. I have followed C. Müller's edition of Ptolemy's Geographia (Paris, 3–1901). No variant number is cited by Müller for the longitude of Hierapolis. lemy reckoned longitude eastward from the westernmost of the Fortunate Islands, l each degree of latitude or of longitude (at the equator) was equivalent to 500 stadia. he latitudes and longitudes given above are even approximately correct, Heracleia st have been about 22.18 miles northwest of Hierapolis (or Mabûg); and the temple Athena Cyrrhestis, which was twenty stadia from Heracleia, cannot have been in the nediate vicinity of Mabûg. The distance between Heracleia and Hierapolis was nputed from the data found in Ptolemy by Mr. Bradford Washburn of the Harvard titute of Geographical Exploration.

[7] See Evagrius, H. E. 5, 10. Hoffmann thinks that Gaggalice, for which he proposes to d Gabalice from Gabala, was the above mentioned Heracleia on the Mediterranean st northwest of Laodicea. Cf. G. Hoffmann in op. cit., XXXII, p. 740.

[8] This brief account of Thomas's life is based on what Gregory Barhebraeus says in Chronicon Ecclesiasticum, I, 49.

[9] See J. S. Assemani, op. cit., II, p. 91, note 1. Baudrand says: Urbs Syriae, ad Tauri

was also called Hiraqlah by the Arabs, was a castellum R manum in Mesopotamia and was situated on the left bank the Euphrates about nine kilometers west of Nicephorium (Raqqah).[10] Nothing is said about either of these small settl ments by Strabo or Ptolemy, but they are both mentioned b the Arab geographer Yâqût. According to him Hârûn a Rashîd captured Heracleia ad Taurum in the month of Shaww 190 A.H. (i.e. 806 A.D.), and among the captives who fell into h hands was the beautiful daughter of a certain Patricius. Th Moslem leader took her with him to Raqqah and built a fortres for her between Râfiqah and Bâlis on the Euphrates. Th fortress was called Hiraqlah after Heracleia ad Taurum, th former home of the young woman in the region of Moun Taurus.[11] The site is still known as Qal'at Ḥaraqlah.

Let us now turn to Evagrius. He says that the Persian gen eral Adarmaanes, who was then campaigning against the Greek in Syria, burned a town which was formerly known as Heracleia but which was later called Gaggalice. Adarmaanes crossed th Euphrates at Circesium and moved westward to Apamea on th Orontes, pillaging and harrying the country as he went. Th Heracleia which was burned by the Persians, as was said abov is usually thought to have been Heracleia in Cyrrhestice. Th present writer, however, not without some hesitation, venture to make the following novel suggestion. Gaggalice was pro ably not the town in Cyrrhestice mentioned by Strabo an Ptolemy; but rather Heracleia in Mesopotamia, which was si uated on the left bank of the Euphrates about nine kilometer

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montis radices et Ciliciae confinia, ab Adana 40 mill. pass. ab Iconio 75 in ortum distans. Cf. M. A. Baudrand, Lexicon Geographicum (Paris, 1670), p. 345.

[10] See E. Sachau, Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 244 f.; B. Moritz in Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1889, Anhang 'Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene,' p. 30; V. Chapot, La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe (Paris, 1907), p. 290; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet (Berlin, 1911–1920), I, pp. 161 ff., and III, Tafel XXV; and A. Poidebard, La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie (Paris, 1934), Texte, p. 88, and Atlas, map at the beginning of the volume.

[11] See Yâqût, Mu'jam al-Buldân (ed. Wüstenfeld), IV, 961 f. See also Ṭabari, Târîkh (ed. Goeje), III, 709–711. Yâqût and Ṭabari both write هرقلة rather than حرقلة.

of Nicephorium. This Heracleia was near the Persian line
arch. Moreover, it was fortified and in times of danger it
doubtless garrisoned, so that Adarmaanes would probably
thought it strategically necessary to attack and reduce the
e. On the other hand Heracleia in Cyrrhestice lay a long
to the north of the Persian general's line of advance; and its
hbours, Hierapolis and Beroea, are not mentioned by
grius in his account of Adarmaanes's campaign. Further-
e, Evagrius does not call Heracleia a city or town (πόλις).
words, according to the text of Bidez and Parmentier, are:
ήσας τὴν πάλαι μὲν Ἡράκλειαν, ὕστερον δὲ Γαγγαλικὴν ὀνομα-
ταν.[12] The absence of potsherds at Qal'at Ḥaraqlah seems to
cate that there was at no time a populous settlement on the
[13] This Heracleia was probably never anything more than
rtified place on the Euphrates. Indeed, it may have been
ıpied only when the danger of invasion threatened.

eracleia in Mesopotamia was surrounded by a circular wall
one, which was doubtless built by the Byzantines.[14] Hence
galice would be a highly appropriate name for the place, if
derivation which was tentatively suggested above is sound.
circular wall was about 650 meters in diameter. There
e four gates in it — a large one on the north and another on
south, and a small one on the east and another a little to the
h of the westernmost part of the wall. Within the wall there

Cf. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius (London,
, p. 206. These editors adopt the form Γαγγαλική instead of Γαγαλική. Perhaps
alice (or Gagalice) is a corruption of Galgalice; for the name may be derived from
emitic root גלל, which appears in the Hebrew גלגל *wheel* and in the proper name
i.e., a circle of stones, as well as in the Syriac verb ܓܠܓܠ and its derivatives.
Old Testament גלגל became ܓܠܓܠܬܐ in Syriac, Γάλγαλα and Γαλγάλ
eek, and Galgala in Latin. The first ל in Galgalice may have been lost, just as the
ıaic גלגלתא became ܓܘܠܓܘܠܬܐ in Syriac. On the other hand in the Greek
οθᾶ the second ל disappeared. The ending is the Greek adjectival suffix ικο in the
ıine form ική, as in Χαλκιδική from Χαλκίς and in Κυρρηστική from Κύρρος.

My friend Professor William F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University tells me
while tramping over this region recently he found no potsherds on the site of
t Ḥaraqlah.

My friend and colleague, Professor Kenneth J. Conant, of Harvard tells me that in
he saw a circular fortification of this sort near Ochrida in Yugoslavia. This seems
ıve been a recognized form of Byzantine military construction.

was a rectangular structure measuring about 100 meters fro north to south and about 90 meters from east to west.[15] Th was probably the fortress which Hârûn al-Rashîd built for t daughter of the above mentioned Patricius.

According to the subscription appended to the Harclean Go pels Thomas of Ḥarqel revised the Philoxenian version of t Four Gospels at the Enaton (*τὸ Ἔνατον*) near Alexandria. was formerly thought that the Enaton was the ninth ward Alexandria [16] or a suburb of the city.[17] It was, however, a rela post (*mutatio*) nine miles from Alexandria. The main statio (*mansiones*) on Roman roads were usually at the larger town and they were generally distant from each other by about day's journey. *Mutationes* were established at varying distanc between the *mansiones*. When local conditions permitted, th preferred interval between two relay-posts was twelve mile but the first *mutatio* was usually nine miles from the neighbou ing *mansio*. Remounts as well as fresh draught animals an beasts of burden were provided for travelers and drivers at th relay-posts; and small settlements, consisting of a few house shops, taverns, and sometimes of barracks, naturally sprang u about them. The moral tone of these places was low.[18]

A Roman road ran westward along the Mediterranean coa from Alexandria to Cyrene; and another road extended in southeasterly direction from Alexandria to a point just belo the southern tip of the Delta. There it intersected a road whic led northward on the right bank of the Nile from Coptos an

[15] See F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, op. cit., III, Tafel XXV.

[16] Cf. J. B. Cotelier, Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta (Paris, 1677–1692), I, col. 809: De Nono Alexandriae. Hoc est Monasterio quod situm erat in Ennato seu Nono, nona regione Alexandrinae civitatis (reprinted in Migne, P. G. LXV, col. 195 f.); E. A. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (Boston, 1870), p. 469; and J. Gwynn in A Dictionary of Christian Biography (London, 1877–1887), IV, p. 267, note d. The two forms Ἔνατον and Ἔννατον are found in manuscripts and printed editions. The former of these is the correct form, as metrical passages, inscriptions, papyri, and at least one ostracon shew. The cardinal *ἐννέα* naturally gave rise to the spelling *ἔννατος*.

[17] Cf. J. G. C. Adler, Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacae (Copenhagen, 1789), p. 48, note 4.

[18] Cf. F. M. Abel in Oriens Christianus, Neue Serie, I, pp. 77 ff.; and J. H. Ropes in F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity (London, 1920–1933), Pt. I, Vol. III, p. CLVI, note 4.

nce along the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea to ioch in Syria.[19] If an addition found in some Greek manupts of the Apophthegmata Patrum can be trusted, the .ton was on the road which ran westward from Alexandria.[20] t is known from various sources, Greek as well as Syriac, t monks lived at the Enaton. Severus of Antioch and Julian Halicarnassus fled thither and found refuge when they were osed from their sees and forced to go into exile on account heir Monophysite views.[21] In the subscription to the Harn Gospels the convent at the Enaton in which Thomas of qel revised the Four Gospels is called ܕܝܪ ܐܢܛܘܢܝܐ. is is generally understood to have been a monastery of onine or Antonian monks, i.e. monks who followed the rule t. Antony. However, the same consonants which are used ܐܢܛܘܢ appear also in ܐܢܛܘܢܝܐ, and it may be that the er should be pointed ܐܲܢܛܘ̈ܢܲܝܐ rather than ܐܲܢܛܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܐܲܢܛܘ̈ܢܲܝ would mean the Enatonians, i.e. monks living at the ton. This explanation of the word is natural and reasonable, the present writer knows of no objection that can be urged inst it. The scholars who interpreted ܐܢܛܘܢܝܐ as meaning onine or Antonian monks thought that ܐܢܛܘܢ was the ne of a ward in Alexandria or a suburb of the city, and they

[19] See C. A. J. Skeel, Travel in the First Century after Christ (Cambridge, 1901), facing p. 1.

[20] τῷ πρὸς δυσμάς. These words look like a gloss, and they are not preserved in the dic text. However, even if they are a gloss, the glossator may have known the lon of the Enaton. For the Greek see Migne, P. G. LXV, col. 256; and for the dic see G. Zoega, Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manu Scriptorum qui in Museo giano Velitris adservantur (Rome, 1810), p. 337.

[21] See Leontius of Byzantium, De Sectis, Act. V (Migne, P. G. LXXXVI[1], col. C). For other references to the Enaton as an abode of monks see Apophthegmata um (Migne, P. G. LXV, cols. 196 B, 253 B, and 256 D); Justinian, Contra Monositas, init. (Migne, P. G. LXXXVI[1], col. 1104 A); and Johannes Moschus, Pratum ituale 177 (Migne, P. G. LXXXVII[3], col. 3048 A). The Enaton as the site of a con-, or the monks of the Enaton are mentioned in four Syriac manuscripts preserved in British Museum: Add. MS. 12156, fol. 10 v.; Add. MS. 12174, fol. 61 v.; Add. MS. 7, fol. 122; and Add. MS. 14647, fol. 79. See W. Wright, Catalogue of the Syriac nuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1870–1872), Pt. I, pp. 33 f.; Pt. II, 41; Pt. III, pp. 1096 (History of John, Bishop of Hephaestus in Egypt) and 1124 tory of Peter the Iberian).

translated it 'Antonia.'[22] Apparently neither Ἀντωνιανοί n
Ἐνατονιανοί occurs in Greek.

The subscription to the Harclean Gospels has been printed
Syriac and translated into Latin several times. In 1751–17
Wetstein published a Latin version of it from the so-call
Codex Heracleensis, which once belonged to Dr. Glocest
Ridley.[23] About two decades later Storr printed a Latin tra
lation of the subscription based on a Paris manuscript of t
Harclean Gospels.[24] In 1778 White brought out the first tw
volumes of his edition of the Harclean version of the New Test
ment. These volumes contain the Four Gospels, and at the en
of the Gospel according to St. John the subscription is given
Syriac and Latin. The Syriac text is taken from the abo
mentioned Codex Heracleensis.[25] White also includes tw
transcripts of the subscription in Syriac made from two man
scripts which were formerly the property of J. S. Assema
(Codices Assemaniani I and III), and each transcript is fo
lowed by a Latin translation.[26] Soon afterwards Adler publishe
the subscription in Syriac and Latin in three parallel column
In the first the Syriac text is that of a manuscript which is pre
served in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome; in the second it i
that of Codex Assemanianus I; and in the third it is that of t
Paris manuscript used by Storr.[27] In 1838 Rosen and Forsha
printed the subscription in Syriac and Latin, the Syriac te
being taken from a codex in the British Museum.[28] Finally, a

[22] Cf. J. J. Wetstein, Novum Testamentum Graecum (Amsterdam, 1751–1752),
p. 112; M. G. C. Storr, Observationes super Novi Testamenti Versionibus Syriac
(Stuttgart, 1772), p. 44; J. White, Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana
(Oxford, 1778), II, p. 561; and J. G. C. Adler, op. cit., p. 47.

[23] Oxford, New College, 333. See J. J. Wetstein, op. cit., I, p. 112; and J. White
op. cit., II, pp. 561 f.

[24] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Syr. 54 (olim 23). See M. G. C. Storr, op.
cit., pp. 49 f.; and J. G. C. Adler, op. cit., pp. 45 ff. and 55 ff.

[25] See J. White, op. cit., II, pp. 561 f.

[26] See J. White, op. cit., II, pp. 641 ff.

[27] Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Cod. Syr. 3; Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod.
Vat. Sir. 268; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Syr. 54 (olim 23). See J. G. C.
Adler, op. cit., pp. 45 ff. and 55 ff.

[28] London, British Museum, Add. MS. 7163. See F. Rosen and J. Forshall, Cata-
logus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur
(London, 1838), Pt. I, pp. 26 f. In Rosen and Forshall's Catalogue the codex is No. XIX.

beginning of the present century Mr. S. A. Cook published
anscript of the subscription in Syriac which was made from
Mohl Manuscript by Professor William Wright of Cam-
ge.[29]

he subscription is also found in a codex containing the Four
pels according to the Harclean version which is now in the
ary of A. Chester Beatty, Esq., of London.[30] The present
er first saw this manuscript in Cairo in February, 1929. It
then in the possession of Mr. Shûkrî Lûqâ, a Syrian living
Cairo. His wife kindly permitted me to examine it and to
ain photographs of certain leaves. Soon afterwards it was
ght by Mr. Chester Beatty and taken to London.

he Chester Beatty Codex, which is written on vellum in a
l Estrangelâ hand, contains the Four Gospels according to
Harclean version. It measures 39.5 to 40 cm. x 30.8 to
m., and it consists of 229 leaves. There are two columns on
page and 21 to 27 lines in each column. The ink is black.
manuscript was copied in the Church of Mar Thomas the
stle, but the name of the city or village in which the church
located is not given. The codex was finished in the month
Tâmmûz (the day of the month is omitted), 1488 A.Gr.,
1177 A.D. The scribe's name is not given. Mrs. Shûkrî Lûqâ
me that the manuscript came from Ḥomṣ, and I have no
on to question the truth of her statement.

he subscription reads as follows in the Chester Beatty
lex:

ܫܡ ܫܒܚ ܐܡܝܢ ✣ 1

ܫܟܝܚܐ ܫܠ ܫܠܝܫܝ

ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ✣ ܫܒܚ

ܠܥܠܡ ܕܥܠܡ ܐܡܝܢ:

ܫܒܚ ܠܡ ܫܠ ܫܒܚ 5

Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS. 1700. See W. Wright, A Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1901), I, pp. 6 ff.

Cod. Syr. 3.

ܟܬܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܫܘܠܡ
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ
ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ
ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ
ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ
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ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ
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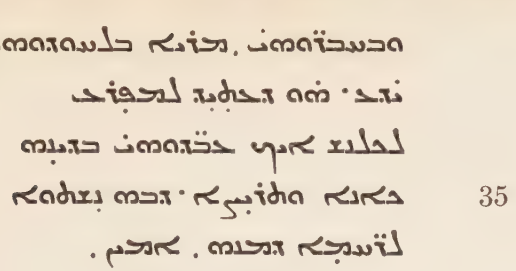
ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ
ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ



35

Variae Lectiones [31]

1 ܕܡܬܐ *add.* ܥܡ As^{1} As^{3} HLMP.

3 ܕܐܦ ... ܕܡܬܐ] ܕܐ ܟܬܒ ܥܡ ܫܠܝܚ ܕܟܬ ܥܡ ܐܦ ܕܐܒܗ ܕܒܫܡܝ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܒܗܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܛܘܬ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܟܬ ܐܦ An.

2 ܫܠܝܛܘܬ] ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ As^{1}; ܫܠܝܛܐ As^{1} (*secundum Adler*) P; ܫܠܝܛܘܬ As^{3}; ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ H.

3 ܕܐܦ] *om.* As^{3}.

4 ܕܐܡܪ]ܐܡܪ An As^{1} (*secundum Adler*) P; *add.* ארמיא H.

5 ܕܒܪ]ܒܪ An As^{1} (*secundum Adler*) HLMP; ܒܪ As^{1} As^{3}.

8 ܕܐܬܝ]ܐܬܝ As^{1} (ܕܐܬܝ As^{1} *secundum Adler*); ܐܬܝ H.

10 ܕܐܡܪ ... ܒܪ] *om.* An.

The following sigla are used to designate the manuscripts: An = Cod. Angelicus ne, Biblioteca Angelica, Cod. Syr. 3); As^{1} = Cod. Assemanianus I (Vatican City, oteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Sir. 268); As^{3} = Cod. Assemanianus III (Vatican City, ioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Sir. 272); H = Cod. Heracleensis (Oxford, New Col- 333); L = a manuscript in the British Museum (London, British Museum, Add. 7163); M = the Mohl MS. (Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS. 1700); and Cod. Parisinus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Syr. 54, olim 23).

8 ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪܬ] ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪܬ As¹ As³ LMP (*om. seyâm* As¹ LP).

9 ܐܝܬ] ܠܐ As³ P.

ܒܝܬ] ܒܝܬ ܐܡܪ H.

10 ܐܡܪ] ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ As³ P.

11 ܒܬܡ] ܒܬܡ An As¹ (*secundum Adler* P; ܒܬ ܐܡܪ As¹; ~~ܒܬ~~ As³; ܒܬ H.

ܐܡܪ] *add.* ܒܐ As³ M.

12 ܐܒܬ] ܐܒܬ P.

15 ܐܡܪ] *om.* As³.

ܐܡܪ] *add.* ܐܠ As³.

16 ܐܠ] ܡܐ As¹ (*sed* ܐܠ *in margine eadem manu* HLP[32].

ܐܡ] *om.* As³.

17 ܡܠ] ܡܠ As¹ (ܡܠ *secundum Adler* As³.

ܠܐ] ܠܐ An.

17-18 ܐܠ . . . ܠܐ] *om.* As³.

[32] A manuscript privately owned in Mar'ash about 1904 and ascribed to the thirteenth or fourteenth century reads (or read) ܐܠ. My friend Professor Charles C. Torrey of Yale University kindly lent me a photograph of the subscription as it is given in this codex. Neither Dr. Torrey nor the present writer knows where the manuscript is now. ܐܠ is also found in an evangeliarium which was formerly at Ḥoms and in Codex Assemanianus II (Cod. Vat. Sir. 271). For the former see L. Delaporte in Revue Biblique, Nouvelle Série, 1907, p. 257; and for the latter see J. White, op cit., II, p. 647. Thomas used three Greek manuscripts, as the marginal note on Matthew 28:5 shews. The initial sentence of the subscription in the Angelican MS. speaks of two accurate codices. Perhaps the mention of two manuscripts here and several times in the marginal notes gave rise to the reading ܡܐ in line 16 of the subscription. The Mar'ash codex also has (or had) ܒܝܬ ܐܡܪ in line 18.

18 ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ] ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܒܗ H; ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ M.

19 ܕܟܬܒ] *om.* An As¹ (*secundum Adler*) P.

ܕܡܝܬܐ] ܕܡܘܬܐ An HP; ܟܬܒ ܗܝ As³.

20 ܠܐ] ܗܘܐ ܕܐܦܠ As³.

25 ܐܠܦܐ . . . ܕܒܪ] *om.* As¹ HL.

21 ܠܐ ܕܥܒܪ] ܥܒܪ P.

ܒܪܫܝܬ ܠܐ ܕܥܒܪ] ܠܐ ܕܥܒܪ As³.

ܒܪܫܝܬ] ܟܪܫܐ P.

23 ܡܚܕ . . . ܕܟܝܦܐ] ܡܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫ P.

23 ܟܪܫܝܢܝ] *add.* ܟܡ An; ܟܪܫܝܢܝܟ As³.

ܟܫܘܝܪܬܐ] *om. P.*

24 ܒܫܠܡ] ܟܬܒ P.

ܠܚܕ] *om. P.*

25 ܐܠܦܐ] *om.* As³ P.

ܟܬܒ] *praem.* ܟܐܝ As¹ HL.

ܡܢ ܟܬܒ] ܟܬܒ ܡܢ ܟܐܝ P.

ܡܢ] *om.* L.

-26 ܟܫܦܪ ܡܢ] ܡܢ ܟܫܦܪ M.

26 ܟܫܦܪ] ܟܫܐ As¹ (*secundum Adler*).

27 ܟܬܒ] ܬܒ An As¹ (*secundum Adler*) LP; ܟܬܒ As¹; ܟܬ As³.

ܟܟܬܒܬ] ܟܟܬܒ An As¹ (*secundum Adler*) P.

-28 ܠܐ . . . ܟܟܬܒܬ] ~~ܐܦܪ~~ H (*om. lineam superscriptam*) L.

-30 ܠܐ . . . ܟܟܬܒܬ] ܡܒܪ ܟܟܬܐ ܕܐܟ ܠܐ ܒܪ As³.

28 ܗܠܡ *om.* As[1] P.

29 ܡܢܝܬܚܫܒܐ] ܡܢܝܬܚܫܒܐ As[1] (ܡܢܝܬܚܫܒܐ *secundum Adler*) ; ܡܢܝܬܐܚܫܒܐ H.

ܐܢܫܐܡܬܐ] ܐܢܫܐܡܢܬܐ H.

31 ܐܡ] ܒܡ An As[1] P.

32 ܒܡܢܫܠܚ] ܚܫܒ As[3].

34 ܠܚܕ] ܐܢ ܠܚ As[1] (ܠܚܕ As[1] *secundum Adler*) ; ܠܚܫܒ H.

35 ܡܒ] *add.* ܚܠ M.

ܐܒܒ] *add.* ܕܡܐ ܒܪ An.

36 ܐܬܒ] ܐܬܒܐ An As[1] (*secundum Adler*) P.

ܡܒܐ] *add.* ܡܒܐ As[3].

Translation

This book is of the four holy Evangelists, which was trans-
lated from the Greek language into the Syriac with much care
and great labour, first indeed in the city of Mabûg in the year
819 of Alexander of Macedon, in the days of the Right Reverend
Mar Philoxenus the Confessor, bishop of that city.

And it was collated afterwards with much care by me (lit. of
me), the poor Thomas, on (the basis of) three Greek manu-
scripts, which (were) very approved and accurate, at the
Enaton of (i.e. near) Alexandria, the great city, in the holy
Convent of the Enatonians (*or* Antonians); where also I wrote
it for myself [34] — for the profit of my sinful self (lit. my sinful

[33] All the manuscripts except the Chester Beatty Codex read ܐܒܐܒܫ
(or ܐܒܐܒܒܫ) here, and this is without doubt the right reading.
With this change of text *accuracy* should be substituted for *care* in the translation.
ܐܒܐܕ occurs in line 14.

[34] Adler translates the words ܐܝܒܐ ܠ ܐܒܠ ܒܐ ܐܒ thus: quippe vel apex eius facit ad utilitatem. Cf. J. G. C. Adler, op. cit., p. 47. Mrs.

) and of the many who love and desire to know and to keep
profitable accuracy of divine books.
nd it was written and collated in the place which (was)
ntioned in the year 927 of Alexander, (in the) fourth indic-
n. And how much toil and care I had in it (i.e. the book of
Gospels) and in its fellows (i.e. the books of the Acts and
stles) the Lord only knows, who will recompense everyone
ording to his works in His just and righteous judgment;
erein may we be deemed worthy of the mercy which (is)
n Him. Amen.

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e (Silva New), following a suggestion made to her by Professor Vaschalde of Wash-
on, renders them thus: quippe vel exaratio eius facit ad utilitatem. Cf. K. Lake,
. Blake, and Silva New in The Harvard Theological Review, XXI, pp. 383 f. But
ܐܝܟܐ can only mean *ubi*, and ܡܫܟܚܡ is a verb (Pe'al perf., 1st person,
.) with the pronominal suffix ܡ . It cannot be taken as a substantive. Moreover,
e is no word in the Syriac text corresponding to *facit*.

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRUS AND THE CAESAREAN TEXT OF JOHN

R. V. G. TASKER
King's College, University of London

In the Journal of Theological Studies for October 1935 I discussed certain of the more interesting readings of the Chester Beatty Papyrus in John on general grounds, endeavouring to discover how far the evidence of the papyrus might reasonably be allowed to modify the conclusions of particular editors in particular passages. It became obvious in that study that the text of the papyrus in John does not belong specifically to any of the recognised groupings, and that in many cases it would appear not to have retained the reading which is intrinsically preferable, or which is the best attested.

Dr Frederic Kenyon in his introduction to the papyrus draws from a tabulation of the agreements with the most important uncials that 'in John the papyrus shows an almost equal adherence to B, D, and Θ but with a noticeable leaning to D and Θ in particular readings.' I endeavour in this article to discover more closely if possible the character of the text of the papyrus in John by dealing with the evidence in the same way as I dealt with the evidence of the papyrus in Luke in my article in the Harvard Theological Review for October 1936 entitled 'The Chester Beatty Papyrus and the Caesarean text of Luke.' I seek, that is to say, to ascertain to what extent the non-Byzantine readings of the papyrus belong to the main types of text so far isolated by critics, and particularly to what extent these readings are supported by members of the more recently isolated fam. Θ, i.e. Θ, 28,565, fam. 1, fam. 13,700, which give the text styled by Streeter 'Caesarean.'

As is generally known, all these Mss. have received much revision at the hands of the Byzantine Revisers, though less in Mark than in the other gospels; and the revision seems to have been most thorough-going in Luke and John. The family can therefore be expected to be so united in John, and in consequence it becomes increasingly difficult if not impossible to say

definitely what the 'fam. Θ' readings in John really are. Fu
ther research will probably add to the members of the fami
other minuscles, the exact nature of whose text has not yet be
fully ascertained. I have in the meantime ventured here
quote the evidence of 157, hitherto generally regarded as 'Ale
andrian' in character, because I have found it to be often
agreement with members of fam. Θ, and because, as my stud
on the Chester Beatty papyrus and the text of Luke shows,
has several agreements in that gospel with the papyrus in i
less-well supported readings.

Readings in John Chapters 10 and 11, where the Chester Beatty Papyrus disagrees with the Textus Receptus

John 10

1. 10. 7. *ειπεν ουν παλιν αυτοις ο ιησους*] *ειπεν ουν αυτοις ο ιησους* ℵ 1241. W. 1. 69. 124. 565
2. 10. 8. *προ εμου ηλθον*] *ηλθον* ℵ Syr. vet. 28
3. 10. 8. *ηκουσαν*] *ηκουσεν* L. Orig.
4. 10. 11. *ο ποιμην ο καλος*] *ο καλος ποιμην* bis
5. 10. 11. *τιθησιν*] *διδωσιν* ℵ* D. Syr. Sin.
6. 10. 12. *μισθωτος δε*] om. *δε* BL W1
7. 10. 12. *εισιν*] *εστιν* ℵBLX1241 W. Θ1. fam. 13. 565
8. 10. 12. *τα προβατα ιδια*] *ιδια τα προβατα* Θ
9. 10. 12. *σκορπιζει τα προβατα*] *σκορπιζει* ℵBL1241 DW Θ1. 565. 700
10. 10. 13. *ο δε μισθωτος φευγει*] om. ℵBL 33 1241 AD Syr. vet. Θ 1
11. 10. 14. *γινωσκομαι υπο των εμων*] *γεινωσκουσκιν* ℵBL DW
12. 10. 15. *καθως*] praem. *και*
13. 10. 15. *τιθημι*] *διδωμι* ℵ* DW
14. 10. 16. *α*] *απερ*
15. 10. 16. *με δει*] *δει με* ℵBL 33 DW Θ 1. fam. 13
16. 10. 16. *γενεσεται*] *γενησονται* ℵ^{c}BL 33 DW Θ fam. 1. 565
17. 10. 18. *αιρει*] *ηρεν* ℵ*B
18. 10. 18. *εξουσιαν εχω παλιν*] *παλιν εξουσιαν εχω* Orig. Eus.

10. 18. ταυτην την εντολην ελαβον] ταυτην ελαβον εντολην
10. 19. ουν σχισμα] σχισμα ℵBLX 33 W
10. 20. αυτων] οτι D solus
10. 22. τοισ] om. ℵX 157 1241 D 1 fam. 13. 700
10. 22. και χειμων ην] χειμων δε ην
10. 23. σολομωντοσ] σολομωνοσ ℵB D Θ 1 fam. 13
10. 31. εβαστασαν ουν παλιν] εβαστασαν Syr. vet. Θ
10. 32. καλα εργα] εργα καλα ℵ 157 1241. A. Θ fam. 1. 700
10. 32. πατροσ μου] πατροσ ℵB Syr. vet. D Θ
10. 32. λιθαζετε εμε] εμε λιθαζετε ℵBL 157 1241 Θ
10. 33. λεγοντεσ] om. ℵBL 157 1241 AW Θ famm. 1, 13
10. 34. ο] om. B W
10. 34. γεγραμμενον] εν τη γραφη
10. 34. υμων] om. ℵ* Syr. vet. D Eus. Θ
10. 34. εγω] praem. οτι ℵBLX 157 DW Θ
10. 35. προσ ουσ ο λογοσ εγενετο του θεου] om. Syr. vet.
10. 35. η γραφη] om.
10. 36. υιοσ] praem. ο
10. 36. του θεου] θεου ℵ DW 28 69 124
10. 38. πιστευσητε] γεινωσκητε BL W Θ fam. 1 565
10. 39. εζητουν ουν] εζητουν δε
10. 39. παλιν αυτον] αυτον ℵ* 1241 D 69
10. 40. πρωτον] προτερον ℵ D Θ 69
10. 41. ουδεν] ουδε εν Orig. W. Θ famm. 1, 13. 700
10. 41. ειπεν ιωαννησ] ιωαννησ ειπεν D solus
10. 41. επιστευσαν πολλοι] πολλοι επιστευσαν ℵBL 157 D fam. 1

John 11

11. 1. βηθανιασ] βηθανιαμ
11. 1. ην δε] αυτη η
11. 4. του θεου] αυτου Lat. vet.
11. 6. εν ω ην] επι τω D solus
11. 7. επειτα] ειτα D solus
11. 7. τοισ μαθηταισ] om. e solus
11. 9. περιπατη εν τη ημερα] εν τη ημερα περιπατη
11. 19. και πολλοι] πολλοι δε ℵBCLX 157 1241 DW Θ

53. 11. 19. *αυτων*] om. ℵBL DW Θ
54. 11. 20. *ο ιησουσ*] *ιησουσ* ℵBC 157 1241ADW fam.1 543.70
55. 11. 21. *η μαρθα*] *μαρθα* ΑΓΔΛ
56. 11. 21. *ετεθνηκει*] *απεθανεν* ℵBCL DW 1 118
57. 11. 21. *αιτηση*] *αιτησησ* W solus
58. 11. 25. *και η ζωη*] om. Orig. Cyp. Syr. Sin.
59. 11. 25. *ζησεται*] *ζησει*
60. 11. 30. *εν*] *επι* Θ
61. 11. 30. *η μαρθα*] *μαρθα* D
62. 11. 31. *υπαγει εισ το μνημειον*] *εισ το μνημειον υπαγει*
63. 11. 32. *εισ τουσ ποδασ αυτου*]
αυτου προσ τουσ ποδασ ℵBCL 157 AW Θ fam. 1
64. 11. 33. *τουσ συνελθοντασ αυτη ιουδαιουσ κλαιοντασ*]
τουσ ιουδαιουσ κλαιοντασ τουσ συνεληλυθοτασ αυτη D
(D tamen habet *μετ αυτησ* pro *αυτη*)
65. 11. 33. *ενεβριμησατο τω πνευματι και εταραξεν εαυτον και ειπεν*
εταραχθη τω πνευματι ωσ εμβριμουμενοσ και λεγε
D Θ 1
66. 11. 43. *εξω*] praem. *ελθε*
67. 11. 44. *περιεδεδοτο*] *εδεδετο*
68. 11. 44. *αφετε*] + *αυτον* BCL 157 Orig. Syr. vet. Θ
69. 11. 45. *ουν*] om.
70. 11. 45. *και θεασαμενοι*] *εωρακοτεσ* D solus
71. 11. 45. *ο ιησουσ*] om. BCL AW Θ1
72. 11. 47. *οτι*] om. D solus
73. 11. 47. *σημεια ποιει*] *ποιει σημεια* ℵBL AW Θ
74. 11. 48. *αρουσιν*] *αιρουσιν* 157 Θ fortasse
75. 11. 49. *καιαφασ*] *καιφασ* D^2
76. 11. 50. *διαλογιζεσθε*] *λογιζεσθε* ℵBL Orig. ADW Θ fam. 1 69
700*
77. 11. 50. *ημιν*] *υμιν* BL 1241 D
78. 11. 51. *του ενιαυτου εκεινου*] om. e. Syr. vet.
79. 11. 51. *προεφητευσεν*] *επροφητευσεν* ℵBL DΘ
80. 11. 52. *διεσκορπισμενα*] *εσκορπισμενα* D 700
81. 11. 53. *συνεβουλευσαντο*] *εβουλευσαντο* ℵB DW Θ fam. 13
82. 11. 54. *παρρησια*] *παρησια* B D
83. 11. 54. *αυτου*] om ℵBL DW 565
84. 11. 57. *φαρισαιοι*] *πρεσβυτεροι*

variants are here quoted, of which 18 are apparently pe-
ar to the papyrus. Of the remaining 66, 29 are printed in
t's reconstructed 'Neutral Text'; 19 find support from D
nst the Neutral text; 1 (viz. no. 3) would probably have
n regarded by Hort as 'Alexandrian'; and 7 others have
port from members of fam. Θ, and from such other support
hey receive might have some claim to be regarded as
esarean,' provided that in these particular passages other
mbers of fam. Θ are not found to present a reading different
n from the papyrus and the Textus Receptus. Such in-
ces will be given later. For the moment, however, we can
rd as 'possibly Caesarean' readings numbered 1, 2, 8, 25,
42, 60.

We are left with the following ten readings which cannot be
sified under the above categories, viz. 18, 30, 34, 47, 50, 55,
58, 74, 78. A glance however at the support which they re-
e shows that in some cases they are supported by Mss.
ions or Fathers, whose text has been shown to have affin-
with fam. Θ. Of these unclassified readings number 74 is
resting. The only certain support comes from 157, which,
have already noted, is found in Luke to be often in support
ne papyrus in its more unusual readings. In this particular
sage Θ reads *ερουσιν*, which may be an itacism for *αιρουσιν*,
hich case the reading might have a claim to be regarded as
sarean.

will be remembered however that the characteristic of the
. Θ text, to quote Streeter's words, is 'not so much the rela-
ly small proportion of readings peculiar to itself, as the spe-
pattern so to speak in which Neutral, Alexandrian, and
stern readings are found combined' (HTR, 28, 233). Does
papyrus show such a combination in John as it has been
wn that it does in Luke? It is noticeable in this connexion
in 24 out of the 29 readings in which the papyrus agrees
n the Neutral text it has support from one or more members
am. Θ; and that in 7 out of the 19 readings where it agrees
n D it finds similar support from fam. Θ. The proportion of
stern' readings which find no support from fam. Θ is some-

what greater in John than in Luke. Otherwise the results a somewhat similar.

It is clear at any rate that the text of the papyrus cannot b called Neutral Alexandrian or Western in Hort's meaning these terms. It contains in proportion less Neutral elemen than it does in Luke, only 29 out of the 84 variants being i Hort's text as compared with 72 out of 134 in the case of Luk The remarkable thing about the text is its mixed characte which is similar to the mixed character of the text of fam. Θ.

In order to check these impressions it is very necessary t apply a negative test in the form of a list of passages wher members of fam. Θ differ from the papyrus but where they d not give a Byzantine reading. I therefore append a list of suc passages as complete as I have been able to make it. I give i addition the evidence of 157, the exact nature of which, as ha already been pointed out, is uncertain, but which is often foun in agreement with fam. Θ.

Readings in John 10, 11, where members of fam. Θ and 15 differ from the papyrus except when they present a Byzantine reading

10. 7. *ειπεν ουν αυτοισ ο ιησουσ*] + *παλιν* 13. 543
+ *παλιν* post *αυτοισ* 700. 157
10. 8. *ηλθον*] + *προ εμου* fam. 13. 157. 700
10. 10. *περισσον*] *περισσοτερον* 69. 157
10. 11. *αυτου*] ante *υπερ* Θ
10. 12. *μισθωτοσ*] praem. *δε* Θ fam. 13. 157
10. 18. *αλλα*] *αλλ* Θ
10. 18. *θειναι αυτην*] *αυτην θειναι* Θ
10. 18. *ταυτην ελαβον εντολην*] *ταυτην εντολην ελαβον* Θ
10. 19. *παλιν εγενετο*] *εγενετο παλιν* fam. 1
10. 20. *δε*] *ουν* fam. 1. 565. 700
10. 22. *χειμων δε ην*] *χειμων ην* Θ 1
10. 23. *στοα του* (vid.)] *στοα* 700
10. 31. *εβαστασαν*] + *παλιν* 700
+ *ουν* fam. 13

12. εδειξα] εδιδαξα Θ
18. πιστευητε] πιστευετε Θ 1. fam. 13
18. τοις εργοις] + μου fam. 13 (exc. 69) 157
18. πιστευσατε] πιστευετε Θ 1
19. εζητουν δε] εζητουν Θ 157. 700
19. εκ της χειρος] απο των χειρων 565
εκ των χειρων 700
21. και πολλοι ηλθον] ηλθον δε πολλοι Θ
21. σημειον εποιησεν] εποιησεν σημειον famm. 1. 13. 565. 157
31. ην] om. Θ
32. θριξι] + της κεφαλης Θ
33. αι αδελφαι προς αυτον] προς αυτον αι αδελφαι 700
33. αδελφαι] + αυτου 1
35. την μαρθαν και την αδελφην αυτης]
την μαριαν και την αδελφην αυτου μαρθαν Θ fam. 1. 13. 543. 565
37. εις την ιουδαιαν παλιν] παλιν εις την ιουδαιαν Θ fam. 1
38. σε λιθασαι οι ιουδαιοι]
σε οι ιουδαιοι λιθασαι U Θ famm. 1, 13. 157
39. ο ιησους] ιησους 157. 700
39. πολλοι δε] πολλοι ουν fam. 1. 565
40. μαρια] μαριαμ Θ
41. ο αδελφος μου ουκ αν απεθανεν]
ουκ αν απεθανεν ο αδελφος μου fam. 1
41. απεθανεν] ετεθανεν 565
τεθνηκει Θ
42. αλλα] om. fam. 1
44. μαρθα] praem. η Θ 157. 700
48. μαριαν] μαριαμ Θ
50. επι] praem. ετι fam. 13
ετι εν fam. 1
52. απεθανεν μου] μου απεθανεν Θ 157
53. ιησους ουν] ο ουν ιησους Θ
53. φωνη μεγαλη εκραυγασεν] εκραυγασεν φωνη μεγαλη Θ
54. τους ποδας και τας χειρας]
τας χειρας και τους ποδας 69. 118. 209. 157
54. η οψις] την οψιν Θ
54. εδεδετο] περιδεδεμενος Θ

11. 44. αυτοισ] om Orig. 700
11. 44. αφετε] εασατε Θ
11. 45. α.] ο 1
11. 47. συνεδριον] + κατα του ιησου fam. 13. 700
11. 48. πιστευσουσιν] πιστευσωσιν 1. 69. 543. 700
11. 48. και ante τον τοπον] om. Θ
11. 49. καιφασ] praem. ονοματι 1
+ ονοματι Θ
11. 52. εσκορπισμενα] om. 69
11. 54. αλλα] αλλ 1
11. 54. την χωραν] χωραν Θ 565
11. 54. κακει] και εκει fam. 13. 157 Orig.

It will be seen that this list of 54 variants out of a sum tot of 138 readings mentioned is larger in proportion to the tot number of readings than is the corresponding list in my arti on Luke, where the corresponding list contains 65 variants o of a total of 199. This clearly shows that the text of the papyr in John, while it may be regarded as similar in general mixtu to that of fam. Θ, cannot be identified with it; for, if the almo impossible attempt were made to reconstruct a Caesarean te of John, some of the readings in this second list would ha more claims for inclusion than those of the papyrus.

It is worth noticing that while 157 agrees in non-Byzanti readings with the papyrus in 10 places, almost always in co pany with members of fam. Θ, it disagrees with the papyrus 11 places in similar company. As many of the other disagre ments between 157 and the papyrus are readings peculiar 157, this evidence seems to suggest that the real classificati of 157 may be found to be amongst fam. Θ.

THE 'OATH OF PHILIPPUS' AND THE *DI INDIGETES*

HERBERT JENNINGS ROSE
University of St. Andrews, Scotland

HE course of a valuable discussion of the *Di Indigetes*, Koch[1] s to prove that the epithet means *Stammväter*, using as his erial certain passages of Greek authors which seem to equate *ges* with γενάρχης. Of these the chief is the famous frag- t of Diodorus Siculus preserved in a Vatican MS. and first ished by Mai, Scriptorum Veterum Noua Collectio, ii, 16. It is incorporated by Müller, the Didot editor of Dio- s, into Book xxxvii, where it forms ch. 11, and runs as ws:

"Ορκος Φιλίππου.

'μνυμι τὸν Δία τὸν Καπετώλιον καὶ τὴν 'Εστίαν τῆς 'Ρώμης καὶ τὸν ῷον αὐτῆς "Αρην καὶ τὸν γενάρχην "Ηλιον καὶ τὴν εὐεργέτιν [ἐνερ- cod.] ζῴων τε καὶ φυτῶν Γῆν, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς κτίστας γεγενημένους 'Ρώμης ἡμιθέους καὶ τοὺς συναυξήσαντας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῆς ἥρωας, ιὐτὸν φίλον καὶ πολέμιον ἡγήσεσθαι Δρούσῳ, καὶ μήτε βίου μήτε ον καὶ γονέων μηδεμιᾶς φείσασθαι ψυχῆς, ἐὰν μὴ συμφέρῃ Δρούσῳ ιὶ τοῖς τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρκον ὀμόσασιν. ἐὰν δὲ γένωμαι πολίτης τῷ σου νόμῳ, πατρίδα ἡγήσομαι τὴν 'Ρώμην καὶ μέγιστον εὐεργέτην σον. καὶ τὸν ὅρκον τόνδε παραδώσω οἷς ἂν μάλιστα πλείστοις μ⟨α⟩ι τῶν πολιτῶν. καὶ εὐορκοῦντι μέν μοι ἐπίκτησις εἴη τῶν ὧν, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ τἀναντία.

ίσασθαι cod., φείσεσθαι Krebs, in Ankündigung d. öffentlichen Frühlings- ung im Herzoglich Nassauischen Gymnasium zu Weilburg, 1862, p. 11. is perhaps unnecessary, and is rendered a little less easy palaeographi- by the preceding future infinitive, since endings tend to be assimilated, lifferentiated, by copyists. Examination of the alleged instances of the ristic' aorist infinitive, for which see Kühner-Gerth, Ausf. Gram., 389 (Vol. iii, p. 195), Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, par. 127, Classen's excur- n Thucydides, ii, 3, 7, and the editors on Aristophanes, Clouds, 35, will nk show that, while the evidence for such a construction is very weak e a single infinitive or the first of a series of infinitives is concerned, it

[1] Carl Koch, Gestirnverehrung im alten Italien, Frankfurt a/M, Klostermann, p. 89 ff.

is less negligible in cases like the present, where, a future infinitive h already been used and therefore the key-note as it were of the whole con tion having been sounded, the MSS. offer us further infinitives in the aorist not aware that the question had ever been thoroughly examined from point of view. *δύνωμι* Mai, following the MS., but he renders it *potuero* tacitly emending.

Dindorf suggested omitting *μὴ* before *συμφέρῃ*; but, as Krebs right marks, it makes no difference to the sense ('will not spare if sparing do advantage' or 'will not spare if not sparing advantages').

The true interpretation of the passage in its relation to history of Rome has been familiar ever since the second ed (1857) of Mommsen's Römische Geschichte, Vol. ii, p. 222 is certainly not an oath taken by anyone called Philippus; only person of that name contemporary with a Drusus wh trying to get someone the citizenship (of Rome) is L. Mar Philippus, the personal and political enemy of M. Livius D sus, tribune of the plebs in 663/91 and champion of the Ita allies' claims. The only possible suggestion is that w Mommsen makes, that the words of our passage are taken f a speech put into the mouth of L. Marcius Philippus, the p port of which may have been somewhat as follows: 'This D sus is no harmless advocate of schemes for moderate reform. a dangerous conspirator, having a large and desperate foll ing at his back. I have information of their plot, and can e quote you the oath which they have taken to stand by another; it runs thus,'—and then the oath as we have it. to the authenticity of the oath and the speech in which it curred, one may do worse than remember the words of W. Heitland:[2] 'Whether it was a fabrication or not; whether genuine, it is accurately rendered in the Greek . . . are q tions on which opinions do and must differ, for certainty beyond our reach.' To make matters worse, Diodoros i notoriously derivative writer, and we are ill-informed as to sources here. One might suggest as a possibility Sokrates Rhodes, who 'schrieb vermutlich als Zeitgenosse über den B gerkrieg in mindestens drei Büchern';[3] E. Schwartz argu

[2] The Roman Republic, Vol. ii, p. 420.

[3] F. Susemihl, Geschichte der griech. Literatur in der Alexandriner-Zeit, Vol. p. 382.

[4] In RE, V, col. 690.

Poseidonios, on grounds which do not seem to me cogent; kandros Polyhistor's five books περὶ Ῥώμης[5] dealt, so far as we w, with early Rome, not with the period of the Civil Wars. in any case, the speech need not be from an authority, but d be the Sicilian's own composition. Clearly, such material he best is not all we could wish for a delicate point of Latin cography, the explanation of a word which we know was ure to the Romans themselves in historical times; but I e to make it at least probable that what we have here is of alue at all, the oath being a purely Greek composition, be uthor Diodoros himself, Poseidonios or another, and show- only the most superficial knowledge of Roman cult, none tever of Roman ritual formulae.

'o begin with, let us translate the text. Its meaning is quite r and is as follows. 'I swear by Iuppiter Capitolinus, Vesta Rome, Mars her ancestral god, and by Sol the γενάρχης and th the benefactress of animals and plants, also by the demi- s who founded Rome and the heroes who helped to increase empire, that I will count the friends and enemies of Drusus friends and enemies, and will spare neither my life nor the tence of my children and parents, save as may be beneficial Drusus and those who have taken this same oath. And if I ome a (Roman) citizen by Drusus' law, I will consider Rome country and Drusus my chief benefactor. And I will hand his oath to as many as I can of my (own) citizens. And if ep my oath, may increase of good things befall me, but if n perjured, the opposite.'

etting aside for a moment the epithet applied to Sol, which h supposes equivalent to *Indiges* and founds his argument hat supposition, let us begin by asking if the above squares a Roman, or other Italian, cult as we know it. To begin a, Iuppiter may pass; Ianus should head the list if this were e Roman, but it is supposed to be an oath taken by men who not Romans. It is when we look at the rest of the text that bts arise. Firstly, why does Vesta Publica p. R. Quiritium e so early in the list? Her traditional Roman place is last,

[5] Suid., s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

and though her name does not necessarily occur at all,[6] best literary usage keeps it at the end, when it does occ What is she doing here, sundering Iuppiter from his anc companion Mars? The third of the old triad, Quirinus, f still worse, for he is tucked away among 'the demigods founded Rome'; in other words he appears as Romulus an expected to be content with a place no better than tha Remus, the only other reasonably likely person to fall un this description. Sol also finds himself in strange company a Roman or other Italian formula. Where in cult do we m him paired with Tellus? Vergil indeed combines the tw precisely the manner of this oath, and that in an oath-formu put into the mouth of Aeneas swearing to the agreement w Turnus and the other Italians:

> esto nunc Sol testis et haec mihi Terra uocanti . . .
> et pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx,
> . . . tuque inclute Mauors . . .
> Fontisque Fluuiosque uoco, quaeque aetheris alti
> religio et quae caeruleo sunt numina ponto.

But here, as Daniel's Servius says, *iuxta Homericum foedus inducit fieri*: with a fine sense of fitness, seeing that the swea is not a Roman but a foreigner, the time supposedly not l after the Trojan War, and the other party to the oath inha ants of an Italy in which Rome was not as yet, Vergil sedulo avoids anything specifically Roman, and keeps, with a divergences easily understood, to the framework of the *Hom cum foedus* (Iliad 3, 276–79). But the cult-partner of Sol, cording to the excellent evidence of Varro,[9] is Luna, as ind we might have expected.

Tellus or Terra need not astonish us in a Roman or ot Italian oath; but she is followed by a surprising assembly figures. The demigods who founded Rome reduce, in a

[6] For instance, in Livy, viii, 9, 6 (gods of the *deuotio*); Verg., G. i, 5–21 (agricult deities). See further on this point G. Appel, de Romanorum precationibus (= R. V. V., vii, 2), p. 87 ff.

[7] As Verg., G. i, 498, which Appel seems to have overlooked in his enumeration.

[8] Verg., A. xii, 176 ff.

[9] Varro, de ling. Lat., v, 74, whence probably by one route or another Dion. H. Antiquit., ii, 50, 3, and Augustine, de ciu. dei, iv, 23.

; like Roman thought, and so presumably in that of would-oman citizens, to one, Quirinus-Romulus. Remus vanishes out trace, save in the grammatical tradition which Ovid nated or followed that the Lemuria were originally Remu- and Remus' angry spirit the prototypal ghost to be ated thereat. But a *βιαιοθάνατος* is a long way from being migod. If it were not for the mention of the foundation of e, we might at a pinch suppose that the Lares were meant,[11] t the price of Koch's interpretation, the *Indigetes* them-s;[12] but the qualifying clause excludes both, for neither own to have had anything to do with the origin of Rome nyplace else. At very best, one *θέσιν διαφυλάττων* might put plea for the addition of Faustulus-Faunus and Acca Laren-o the scanty list. However, it is perhaps possible to sup- the words in question, *τοὺς κτίστας γεγενημένους τῆς Ῥώμης*, to ne flourish of a Greek who was doing his best with material id not understand, and let go along with it the remark about heroes as *συναυξήσαντας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*. Thus we could, if rest of the oath can show Italian nationality of any kind, iesce in a rendering of the last two clauses as simply a bad slation of *Lares* (or *deos Indigetes*) *deosque Manes*.

nt now if we suppose the whole oath pure Greek, every diffi- vanishes. Clause after clause, and the structure of the le, can be paralleled without the smallest hesitation from ndant material in literature and inscriptions.[13] To begin

Ovid, fast., v, 479, which need not be his invention, as Carter assumes in Roscher, v, col. 182, 62; Porphyrio on Hor., epp. ii, 2, 209, p. 343, 4, Meyer.

The word is used to mean *δαίμονες* by various writers from Cicero on; see my note ginus, fab., 139, 4.

Used by an unknown poet in Macrob., Som. Scip., i, 9, 7, to render *δαίμονες* in d, W. D., 122.

I have consulted, and here express my obligation in general to the following works: artin, Quomodo Graeci ac peculiariter Athenienses foedera publica sanxerint, , 1886; E. Ziebarth, De iureiurando in iure Graeco quaestiones, Gottingae, 1892; t, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des griechischen Fides, Leipzig, 1896; R. Hirzel, Der ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte, Leipzig, 1902; A. B. Cook, Zeus, Vol. ii, Cam-e, 1925, p. 722 ff. G. A. Schroeder, De praecisis iurandi formulis Graecorum et morum, Marienwerder, 1845, despite its promising title, yielded no help; and K. t, Der Eid als Tat, in Acta Litterarum ac Scientiarum Vniuersitatis Francisco-hinae, sect. philologico-historica, i, 1, Szeged, 1924, discusses the psychology r than the formulae of oaths.

with, it consists of three parts, (i) enumeration of deities s
by, (ii) details of what the swearer undertakes to do, (iii)
ditional blessing and curse. All three are most normal G
Take, for two examples where many could be found, the
lowing, which in date roughly bracket the oath of Drusus'
federates. In or about 233 B.C., the Achaian League ha
come to an agreement with Orchomenos, both parties swo
observe it in the following words:[14] *ὀμνύω Δία Ἀμάριον, Ἀθ
Ἀμαρίαν, Ἀφροδίταν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας ἧ μὰν ἐμ πᾶσιν ἐμμ
ἐν ταῖ στάλαι καὶ ταῖ ὁμολογίαι καὶ τῶι ψαφίσματι τῶι γεγονότ
κοινῶι τῶι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ εἴ τίς κα μὴ ἐμμένηι, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω εἰ
ναμιν. καὶ εὐορκέοντι μέν μοι εἴη τἀγαθά, ἐπιορκέοντι δὲ τἀνα*
Some letters and words have disappeared from the stone
the correctness of the restorations adopted by Dittenberg
here assumed; the sense at least is everywhere certain.
swear by Zeus Amarios, Athena Amaria, Aphrodite and all
(other) gods, that I will verily abide by all that is writte
the stone pillar, the agreement and the decree of the fe
assembly of the Achaians; and if any will not abide by the
will restrain him to the best of my ability. And if I keep
oath, may good befall me, but if I break it, the reverse.'
framework is identical with that of the oath we are discus
though the language is simpler and the provisions fewer:
even find the shift from one of the possible ways of stating
undertakings (future infinitive) to the other (future indicat
which that has. In A.D. 37, Caligula having come to the th
but not yet gone manifestly insane, the town of Assos pa
the usual loyal resolutions and prepared to take the oath o
legiance to him in these terms:[15] *ὄμνυμεν Δία Σωτῆρα καὶ
Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀγνὴν Παρθένον εὐνοήσειν Γ
Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι καὶ τῶι σύμπαντι οἴκωι αὐτοῦ, καὶ φίλους τε κρι
οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται καὶ ἐχθροὺς οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προβάληται. εὐορ
σιν μὲν ἡμῖν εὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦσιν* (sic) *δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.* 'We swear
Zeus Saviour, the god Augustus Caesar and our fathers' P
Virgin (i.e., the local Athena) that we will be well-disposed
Gaius Caesar Augustus and all his house, and adjudge frie

[14] Dittenberger, Sylloge[3], 490, 8 ff. [15] Ibid., 797, 20 ff.

whom he prefers, enemies those whom he proposes. If we our oaths, may it be well with us, but if we do not, the site.'

far, however, it might be said that nothing has been proved nst our document from its form. A Roman oath also con- d of the same three parts, as may be seen from the oath of Fetiales in Livy.[16] The Fetial on entering the foreign coun- vas to say: *Audi Iuppiter, audite fines, audiat fas.* Then, announcing himself and stating the demands he was or- d to make: *si ego iniuste impieque illos homines illasque res r mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me numquam sieris* In like manner we might suppose that the Greek oath be- us was a free rendering of a genuine Roman one, or a false composed by Philippus on correct lines, by a Greek who not much troubled by details and content to make the eral sense plain. But when we come to analyse further we the hand of the non-Italian forger showing itself, and that in the very places where he is trying hardest to give corrobo- ve detail for the bettering of his bald and unconvincing ative.

here is no limit to the number of gods a Greek might invoke ne beginning of an oath,[17] and no special class, as Olympian Chthonian, to which they must belong. But there was a ier decided preference for beginning with Zeus and for nam- three deities; on occasion we find five (the Lokrians had a liness for what they called a πεντορκία). Both these num- s are of course sacred in Italy; so it need not surprise us that gods in our formula number five, or more accurately, 3+2, owed by two classes of minor powers, the demigods and the oes.[18] It is the names and arrangement of the gods which lly betray the forger.

Livy, i, 32, 6–7.

So the Hierapytnians swear by 16 names, including Zeus under two titles and na under three, CIG, 2555, 11; again, they and the Priansies invoke 13, Collitz- tel 5024, 60, 76; they and the Lyktians 12, Michel, Recueil 29, 13 ff.; the Latioi Olontioi 15, CIG, 2554, 175. All these lists end with quite minor powers, Kuretes Nymphs.

For triads, especially Greek, see Usener in Rhein. Mus., lviii (1903), pp. 1–47; -εντορκία, see Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v.

That he should begin with Iuppiter is very natural and h
pens to be correct, since we have seen that the Fetiales did li
wise. The presence of the foreigner comes out, however, wh
he adds a title. All the world had heard of Iuppiter Capitolin
or more properly Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, and so the aut
of the oath must make his would-be Romans swear by him.
is significant that he assumes that Italian allies would sw
only by the gods of the state to which they hoped to belong, a
not by any local deities, for that makes a good enough ficti
and prevents the embarrassment which would follow if anyo
so ignorant of Italian religion found himself obliged to na
the gods of any other Italian state. But what he does not kn
is that the Etruscanised Iuppiter of the Capitol is associat
with Iuno and Minerva, not with Mars and still less with Ves
Having committed this initial error, he goes on to make a
other. He had heard of Vesta, no doubt, for her virgin prie
esses were famous. He naturally, since he knows nothing m
about her, assumes that she is in all respects identical with h
Greek sister, ἅ τε πρυτανεῖα λέλογχεν,[19] and that, being associa
with the centre of the city's government, she is a suitable g
dess to be appealed to when a measure involving the citizens
is under discussion. He does not of course understand that s
was nothing of the kind, but had acquired associations pur
religious and not in the least political. Also, as already m
tioned, he has no notion where in the list to put her. A Gr
might well have put her just after Zeus, or even before hi
the Cretan oaths cited in note 17 all begin with Hestia and g
on to Zeus.[20] Besides, she is the city-goddess, or so the forg
imagines, with the corollary that she would be named abo
where an Athenian would name Athena. Now the Athenia
tradition was that by Drakon's ordinance the correct oath wa
by Zeus, Poseidon and Athena, or some said Demeter;[21] and i
practice they kept pretty well to this, with additions accord

[19] Cf. Pind., Nem., xi, 1.

[20] Add, for instance, another Cretan oath, Dittenberger, op. cit., 527, 15 ff., which significantly specifies τὰν Ἑστίαν τὰν ἐμ πρυτανείωι. It is the Drerioi swearing eterna enmity to the Lyttioi.

[21] Schol. Hom., O 36.

to taste and the requirements of the moment. Thus, in B.C., Athens swore to a treaty with Lakedaimon according a formula whose slightly archaic spelling suggests that it served something that was older: ὀμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ἄρη ηνᾶν Ἀρείαν Ποσειδῶ Δήμητραν ἐμμενεῖν ἐν τεῖ συμμαχίαι τεῖ ενημένηι· εὐορκοῦσιν μὲν πολλὰ κἀγαθά, ἐπιορκοῦσι δὲ τἀναντία.[22] re they included some non-Athenian gods or at least some prominent in Athenian cult, because the Spartan kings, iors and elders were to use the same formula. In imitation, n, of the many Greek oaths which included a goddess after s fashion, the author of this oath included perhaps the only man goddess whose name he knew. That he should include ırs was inevitable, for as early as Lykophron [23] Greek scholars all events not only knew that Italy, and especially Rome, rshipped the war-god, but even had some idea what he was led. The next two names are of rather more interest. Apart m their titles, Sun and Earth are very familiar names in an h from Homer down,[24] for the good reason that there is no aping their notice, since one sees from above, and the other m beneath, all that men do, at least out of doors and in the ytime. But they have a special significance in a passage like s which involves a Greek's notion of foreign cult; the asnption is at least as old as the great age of Alexandria that barbarians worship the visible gods. Thus, in Apollonios odios, iii, 699, Chalkiope bids Medeia swear by Heaven and rth to keep secret whatever she tells her; Medeia (ibid.,), when swearing as required, describes this as the 'mighty h of the Kolchians,' Κόλχων ὅρκος ὑπέρβιος, and the fact that scholiast, well-informed as to the poet's sources though he does no more here than paraphrase the text (ὅτι Κόλχων ὅρκος ανὸς καὶ Γῆ) indicates clearly enough that he knew of no ler authority, in other words that Apollonios had no informan about Kolchian cults and was drawing on general probaities. So Caesar [25] disguises his total ignorance of German

[22] Dittenberger, op. cit., 434/5, 87 ff.

[23] Lykophron, 938, 1410 (Μάμερτος in both verses).

[24] As for example in Iliad 3, 104. In O 36–7, Hera takes a closely equivalent oath Heaven and Earth; being a goddess, she adds Styx.

[25] B. G., vi, 21,2; cf. Wissowa in A. R. W., 1918, p. 1 ff.

religion by telling us that *deorum numero eos solos ducunt qu cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuuantur, Solem et Volcanum Lunam; reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt*; and the Stc theory as we find it in Varro [26] was that all religions begin wi the worship of Heaven and Earth. In this particular case, is possible that the Greek had heard of the cult of Tellus, ju conceivable that he had heard of the obscure Sol Indiges who *agonium* fell on December 11.[27] He would, therefore, knowin nothing of their relations, or rather their lack of all relatic to one another, in cult, quite cheerfully pair them.

The rest of the oath has already been briefly discussed; if th rather special pleading for a Roman equivalent to the demigo and heroes be not accepted, as I certainly am not inclined to d it remains pure Greek; the oaths quoted above from Crete giv us examples of minor local powers being sworn by, and hero occur, for instance, in the oath of the Cretan Drerioi alread mentioned in another context (note 20), whose quarrel seems t them sufficiently important to warrant troubling Hestia, Zeu of the agora, Zeus Tallaios, and a number of other great deitie ending with Helios, and also Britomartis, Phoinix (the fath of Europa?), Amphiona (presumably a local goddess or heroin Earth and Heaven, oddly placed in the midst of the *plebs sup rum*, and 'the heroes and heroines, springs and rivers, and a the gods male and female.'

It remains to consider the titles given to both deities, and i will be convenient to begin with Earth. If the MS. reading i right, we have an unexampled word, ἐνεργέτις, presumably th feminine of an equally unknown *ἐνεργέτης. What it means i not too certain, always supposing that it exists and therefor means something. Perhaps, from the known significance o ἐνεργεῖν, ἔνεργος etc., we may suggest that it is either a displaye or perhaps a cause of activity; the latter meaning is the harde to postulate but the more likely to make sense with the geni tives ζῴων, φυτῶν. Perhaps, the slight change made by mos editors is probably right; Earth is the benefactress of her chil dren, animal or vegetable, for she bears and nourishes them It is therefore a perfectly general epithet, no more referring tc

[26] Varro, de ling. Lat., V, 57 ff.

[27] See Koch, op. cit., p. 63 ff.

particular function of the Earth-goddess, still less to any liarity of the Roman Tellus Mater, than the Homeric υβότειρα. Now, as she is here paired with the Sun, the two ning a couple following on the three more specifically Roman ies, it is natural, indeed inevitable, for the oath is not a bad e of rhetorical workmanship, to seek in his epithet one to nce hers, that is to say one perfectly general, referring to the versal nature of the sun and not to any particular functions is supposed to have, when worshipped in any particular e. What, then, does γενάρχης mean?

we consult the latest authority on such things, the new ion of Liddell and Scott, we find two significations given. first is 'ancestor.' In Kallimachos, fr. 36 (Schneider), ibos and Zeus are hailed as the γενάρχαι (or γενάρχα, for reading is doubtful) of Branchidai. This is intelligible ugh, seeing that Zeus is Apollo's father, Apollo in some ac- nts the actual father of Branchos, and at all events a sort piritual father to him, since he made him a prophet, and nchos founded Branchidai. Kassandra in Lykophron, 1307, ne of her less obscure moods, calls Dardanos the begetter of γενάρχαι, that is the older generations of the Trojan royal ; the word is elsewhere used of Abraham, of Julius Caesar of Herakles, this last coming from Sparta, which everyone ows to have been inhabited by Ἡρακλῆος ἀνικήτου γένος.[28] So then, as this evidence goes, Sol could well be hailed as the estor of someone's race in a passage which, on any possible ount of its origin, is later than Kallimachos and earlier than latest author (Philon of Alexandria) on whom Liddell- tt-Jones draw. But will such a sense fit the context? We e already seen that a generalising epithet is wanted, cor- onding to εὐεργέτις applied to Tellus; but to be the ancestor particular clan (γένος) is not a broad enough function for Sun as conceived by antiquity. Besides, if we look at Ro- n facts, of what γένος was he supposed to be the ancestor by local tradition of which we have any account? Varro tells that the Aurelii[29] claimed him, for the sun is called *ausel* in ine and the Aurelii are the Auselii, the Sun's people. At

[28] Tyrtaios, fr. 8 (Diehl), 1.

[29] References in Koch, p. 33 ff.

least, so some moderns make him say; Koch is hard to plea in this respect, and wants something more like proof that Var said anything of the kind, and further, some demonstrati that the alleged Sabine word is Sabine and not Etruscan. Ho ever, he comes to the same explanation of the name by anoth route. Suppose, then, that his explanation or that which criticises is on the right track; let the Aurelii be the Sun-cla whether that means that they claimed descent from him or th they were his priests; this still leaves us with the natural mea ing of 'ancestor' applying to one small group only of the pop lation, and that group not particularly concerned with Drus and his schemes for extending the franchise.

It may then seem desirable to look about for another sen of γενάρχης here. The lexicon gives 'ruler of created beings in other words practically = γενεσιάρχης, from late auth only, Corpus Hermeticum, xiii, 21, where the phrase in which occurs, γενάρχα τῆς γενεσιουργίας, makes the strange use easi for the style is metaphorical enough for us to render 'ancest of generation' or the like, and 'Orpheus,' hymn xiii, 8, whe the word is applied to Kronos and really need mean no m than 'ancestor of the gods,' or 'ancestor of all living being Applied to the Sun, Koch finds the word a few times in Hel doros, Aethiopica, iv, 8 and x, 11 (pp. 106, 18 and 284, 1, Be ker) neither of which passages helps us much, for the speak is in both cases an Ethiopian princess and definitely mea 'ancestor of my race.' We thus have no proof that the wo ever means anything but 'ancestor,' 'author.'

If we could suppose Diodoros, or his source, so devoid o *Sprachgefühl* as to use γενάρχης loosely for γεννητής, there would be no difficulty. We should then have a perfectly general epithet for the Sun, as general as εὐεργέτις for Earth, and one moreover which would have a semi-philosophical flavour not unwelcome to the Hellenistic rhetorician whom I believe to be responsible for the whole formula. Compare the (Pythagoreanising?) words of Sophokles, frag. 1017 Nauck[2],

Ἥλι' οἰκτίροις ἐμέ,
⟨ὃν⟩ οἱ σοφοὶ λέγουσι γεννητὴν θεῶν
πατέρα ⟨τε⟩ πάντων,

eed this is Sophokles and not some forger. For more re-
s on solar theology, see Boyancé, Études sur le songe de
on, p. 78 ff. But I hesitate to ascribe such carelessness
to the 'stupid, credulous, prosing old ass,' still less to the
r men he drew upon. Lydus indeed (see below), who is
f neo-Pythagorean sermonisings, might have been capable

herefore suppose, since we are dealing with a not unlearned
r, that we must take refuge in mythology. There is a
in which (to a Greek, if not to a native Italian) 'ancestor'
t be a very appropriate word for the Sun in an Italian
h. Helios was, as we know, the father of Aietes and of his
Kirke; but Kirke became by Odysseus [30] the mother of
os and Latinos, who 'in the recess of the holy islands, very
way, bore rule over all the famed Tyrrhenians.' He was,
equently, the ancestor of all Italians whom anyone would
to recognise, and if he was not recognised as such and hon-
l accordingly, so much the worse for the good sense and
of the inhabitants of that country. Thus 'ancestor' was
rd which anyone in Italy, Roman or not, could be expected
Greek to apply to him; it is therefore, not indeed so all-
ding an epithet as that given to Earth, but still wide
gh for the purpose; the position of ancestor is occupied by
un so far as any party to the oath is concerned. We thus
nice crescendo; the oath starts with a god hailed under a
itely Roman title, goes on to a goddess whom Rome wor-
ped in common with all respectable states, then another
has especially favoured her but was the god of all other
ans as well, and so to one who was the ancestor of all
ans and lastly to the great goddess who is the mother of all
g things. The construction is so neat that any sympathetic
er must feel for the prosaic Italian of Drusus' day who, if
l why he had no formulae of his own so theologically and
ologically good, would have been obliged to take refuge
or Henriette's plea,

> Excusez-moi, monsieur, je n'entends pas le grec.[31]

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[30] Hesiod, Theog., 1011 ff.

[31] Molière, Les femmes savantes, iii, 5.

In short, the whole oath from beginning to end reveals itself as the work of a man who had but the most superficial and casual acquaintance with anything Roman or Italian, save perhaps the political history of the country in what were the recent times; therefore, probably not Poseidonios, hardly any one likely to have heard of Sol Indiges, and certainly no one capable of informing us truly what the word *indiges* itself meant. The testimony is wholly without value for establishing the meaning of that mysterious epithet, or indeed for any purpose save illustrating the cleverness with which a Greek of that age could make rhetoric and plausibility supply the want of fact.

But there is another text to be considered, namely the testimony of Iohannes Lydus to the title γενάρχης applied to the Sun in Rome. He is speaking of the ceremonials of December 11, and his words are sufficiently clear and less eked out with pseudo-philosophical chatter than is his dreary wont.[32] He says: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑξῆς ὁ Εὔδοξος τὸν τοξότη⟨ν ἀνί⟩σχειν καὶ χειμὼ προλέγει· ἐπετέλουν δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν λεγομέν⟨ην Ἀ⟩γωνάλια δαφνηφο καὶ γενάρχῃ Ἡλίῳ, ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ ⟨ἐπὶ τ⟩οῖς δαφνηφορίοις τελε He then goes on to give a fairly correct account of the coincid festival of the Septimontium. Now it is certain in this case th Lydus is referring to the festival of Sol Indiges, since no oth feast, old or new, of a solar deity took place on Dec. 11; and meaning is quite plain. 'On the next day Eudoxos says th Sagittarius rises, and foretells that there will be stormy weath They also used to hold the festival called Agonalia to the Su Laurel-wearer and Ancestor, like the Daphnephoria at Athen We need not trouble with the astronomical quotation fro Eudoxos, nor the slightly incorrect form Agonalia; it should of course be Agonium, the day being a *dies agonalis*. As to the Athenian festival, since no one else seems to have heard of it, it is reasonable to assume that he is confusing Athens with Delphoi. The epithet of Laurel-wearer is easily understood if we remember that he identifies Helios with Apollo,[33] as most theorists of his time and earlier did. There remains, therefore, the title of γενάρχης, for which, as we have seen, no meaning other

[32] Lydus, de mens., iv, 155 (p. 172, 19 ff., Wuensch).

[33] As in ii, 2, p. 19, 12 ff., Wuensch, and many other passages.

'ancestor' can be satisfactorily proved to exist. Are we to rt, as Koch does, that Lydus uses it here to translate *ges*, and, if so, that his translation is correct?

he first assertion, though I can see no positive proof of it, d that we have dismissed the alleged oath of Drusus' con-rates, is not impossible. But before we agree to the second, ight be well to step from the unknown to the known, ask how Lydus deals with titles of Roman deities whose ning is certain. That he will get them all correct would be air to expect of him; to prove him a tolerably trustworthy orter of the best opinion of antiquity is enough to establish as a witness worth examining in doubtful cases.

tarting, then, with his account of the festivals of January,[34] get the following titles of Ianus explained. Consivius, we informed, means *βουλαῖος*; in other words Lydus thought it Consilius, perhaps wrote it so, as one MS., of slender au-rity, would have us believe. Next come Cenulus and Cibul- titles of which no one else seems to have heard, but which east are rightly interpreted. Patricius is rendered *αὐτόχθων*, r enough right, Clusivius is badly glossed by *ὁδιαῖος*, Iuno-s worse by *ἀέριος*, — the equations Hera = Iuno and ra = *ἀήρ* lie behind this nonsense, — Quirinus by *πρόμαχος* ., it must have something to do with the warlike functions of irinus), Patulcius and Clusius approximately right, Curia-s is 'overseer of nobles, for Curiatii and Horatii are names of ricians,' a muddled recollection of the famous pairs of trip- and their combat. All this professes to come from a re-ctable though not first-rate authority, Cornelius Labeo. rther on, he sets about explaining the name of February;[35] omes from the goddess Februa, who is 'an overseer and puri- of things,' and also the Latin name of Pluto is Februs. The ter would seem to be Februus, for whose existence there is ne little evidence, the former 'fortasse a grammaticis est a' says J. B. Carter, whose qualifying adverb I am disposed omit.[36] We cannot put very much confidence in the etymolo-

[4] Lydus, iv, 1, p. 63, Wuensch.

[5] Ibid., 25, p. 83, Wuensch.

[6] De deorum Romanorum cognominibus, p. 43, which see for Februus.

gies of a writer who states in the same breath that *feber* is t
Latin for mourning, and a little later that Sibylla is a Lat
word.[37] Coming to the Liberalia in March, he at least kno
that *liber* means free,[38] and later, on mentioning Nerio, he giv
the correct etymology of her name, though he gets the form
it wrong, Νερίνη.[39] On reaching the Fordicidia, or Fordica
as he miscalls it, he is, perhaps judiciously, silent about t
etymology and clearly knows only that it was a sacrifice
some kind.[40] It is to be accounted to him for righteousne
that he has the correct form of the name Sancus (Σάγκος)[41] a
does not corrupt it to Sanctus; his statement that it is t
Sabine for heaven at least assigns the word to the right dialec

The general impression produced is that Lydus really ha
some shaky acquaintance with Latin grammatical tradition
and had dipped into Labeo and one or two other such write
or at least had seen some excerpts from them. But his knowled
of Latin was so scanty and his own stupidity and vanity s
great that he cannot be trusted to report them accurately
Labeo assuredly was not guilty of all the nonsense Lydus pr
fesses to quote from him. He catches eagerly at the most wire
drawn θεολογούμενα and would be fully capable, as we have se
in the cases of Ianus Iunonius, of making or adopting an etymo
ogy founded on them in place of keeping to solid fact; while h
is not afraid of setting before his readers speculations of his ow
which the most uneducated native speaker of Latin would hav
seen were false, as when he gravely states that Septembe
(which he of course pronounced Septemver) is derived fro
septem and *uer* and means the seventh month from spring.[42]

We thus find that the possibility of his having preserved a
otherwise unheard of interpretation of the title *Indiges* is bu
one of several, and perhaps the least likely. It is by no means

[37] Ibid., 47, p. 102, 5.

[38] Ibid., 51, p. 106, 16.

[39] Ibid., 60, p. 113, 17. For the true form of the name, see Aulus Gellius, xiii, 23
(22); Νερίνη is perhaps a further deformation of the analogical nominative Nerienes,
cited from Varro by Gellius, loc. cit., (4).

[40] Ibid., 72, p. 124, 11.

[41] Ibid., 90, p. 138, 1.

[42] Ibid., 121, p. 158, 16.

n that he even knew that Sol had that title; he seems to cite the word, fond though he is of airing his Latin ulary. If he did know it, he may be risking an interpretaf his own, since he is acquainted with the tale of Kirke er son Latinus [43] or Auson; [44] he may have looked into ros and got the word γενάρχης from the passage discussed in this article; he may, though of this there is no trace Latin author early or late, have found it in his Latin ; he may have had some muddled idea that the later, orshipping Emperors, Aurelian and his successors, re- the god as their ancestor. I do not see that any of these ilities is more probable than another, but certainly the ikely, to me, is that Lydus should preserve a fact of Latin graphy unknown to such a scholar as Verrius Flaccus, who [45] to have been reduced to deriving *indiges* from *in* and ot of *dico* and giving it the sense of 'unspeakable, secret.' for I find the remaining arguments adduced by Koch as ole as those I have criticised in detail, I regretfully add terpretation of the mysterious name to the long list of which have gone before and one by one proved unreliable.

[43] id., i, 14, p. 8, 1.
[44] id., i, 12, p. 3, 20.
[45] digetes dii, quorum nomina uulgari non licet, Festus, p. 94, 13, Lindsay.